

THE *CONTINUATIO* OF THE
SAMARITAN CHRONICLE
OF ABŪ L-FATH AL-SĀMIRĪ
AL-DANAFĪ

STUDIES IN
LATE ANTIQUITY AND EARLY ISLAM

10

THE *CONTINUATIO* OF THE
SAMARITAN CHRONICLE
OF ABŪ L-FATH AL-SĀMIRĪ
AL-DANAFĪ

TEXT, TRANSLATED AND ANNOTATED
BY

MILKA LEVY-RUBIN



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TO MY FATHER,
SCHOLAR AND MENTOR,
WHO IMBUED ME WITH THE LOVE OF HISTORY
AND TAUGHT ME THE INTRICATE WAYS OF ITS TEXTS.

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ADAJ</i>	<i>Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan</i>
<i>AJBA</i>	<i>Australian Journal of Biblical Archeology</i>
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
<i>BF</i>	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen</i>
<i>BJRL</i>	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library</i>
<i>BSOAS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
<i>CCSL</i>	<i>Corpus Christianorum Series Latina</i>
<i>CH</i>	<i>Church History</i>
<i>DOP</i>	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
<i>EI</i> ¹	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> , ed. M.T. Houtsma <i>et al.</i> 4 vols. Leiden and London, 1913-34.
<i>EI</i> ²	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> , New Edition, ed. H.A.R. Gibb <i>et al.</i> Leiden and London, 1960-proceeding.
<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
<i>IJMES</i>	<i>International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JEH</i>	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
<i>JESHO</i>	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
<i>LA</i>	<i>Liber Annuus</i>
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue biblique</i>
<i>REJ</i>	<i>Revue des études juives</i>
<i>ROC</i>	<i>Revue de l'orient chrétien</i>
<i>RSO</i>	<i>Revista degli studi orientali</i>
<i>SI</i>	<i>Studia Islamica</i>

PREFACE

THE TEXT PRESENTED HERE first came to my attention while working on my Ph.D. thesis, which concerned the Patriarchate of Jerusalem during the early Muslim period (638–1099). The paucity of material concerning the state, during this period, of the Christians in particular and the non-Muslim inhabitants of Palestine in general, obliged me to search for new and as yet unknown material on the subject. I discovered that a relevant part of the Samaritan chronicle of Abū l-Faṭḥ was being cited by scholars from a Latin summary published by Edward Vilmar in 1865. A new edition of the *Chronicle* recently made by Father Paul Stenhouse only extended to the time of Muḥammad and did not include this later part, which he believed to be a continuation of the *Chronicle* rather than an integral part of the original work of Abū l-Faṭḥ.

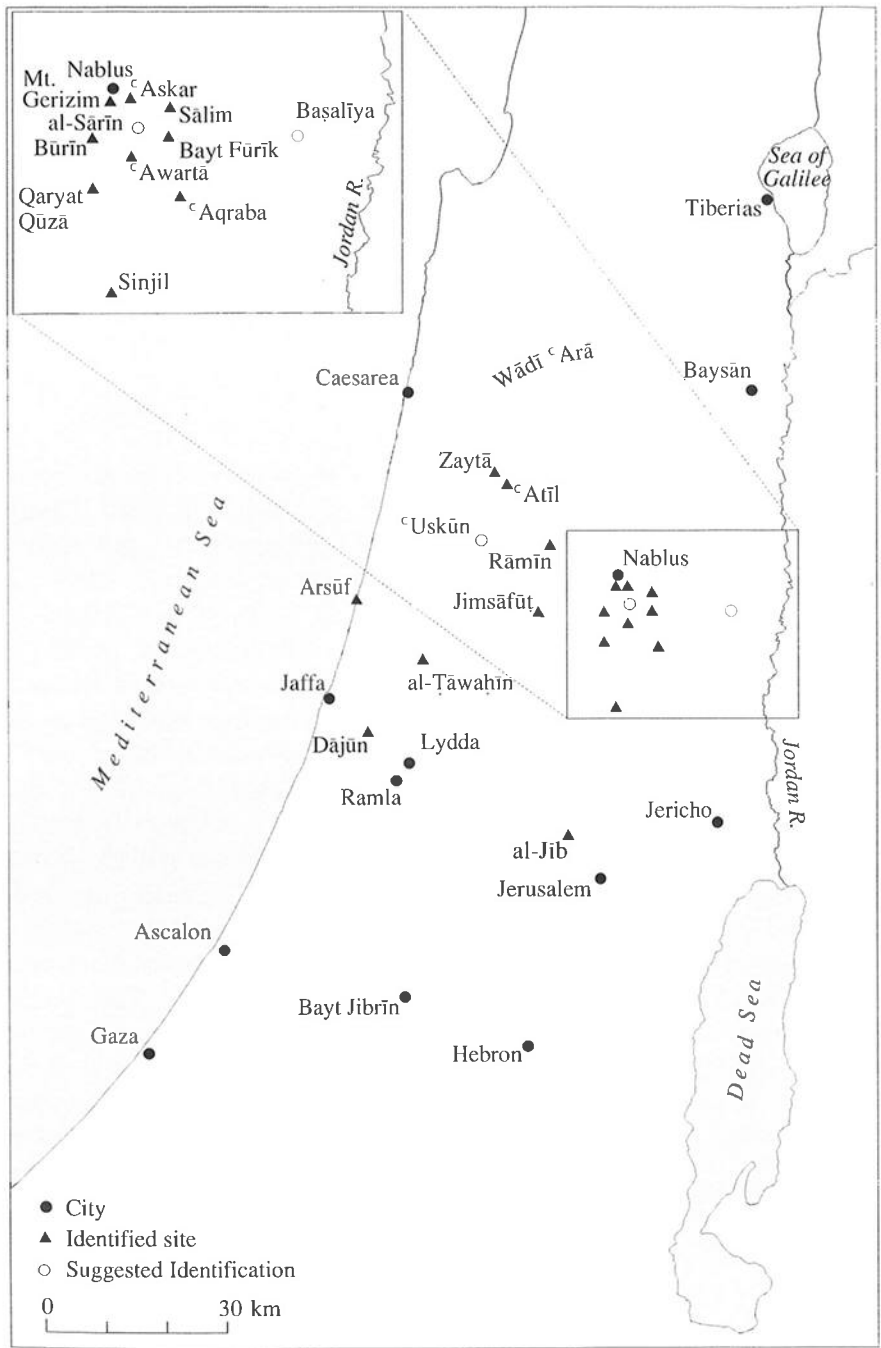
My curiosity was aroused. I ordered a copy of the manuscript from the Bibliothèque Nationale, and discovered a document rich in information concerning not only the situation of the Samaritans in Palestine during the early Muslim period, but in fact much more than that: an interesting and unusually colourful and detailed portrait of Palestine and its environs in early Islamic times until the reign of the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Rāḍī (d. 322/934). The text was especially interesting because it described events as seen by the local population living in Palestine at the time. I therefore made extensive use of the manuscript for a chapter describing the state of the *dhimmīs* in Palestine during the said period.

After completing my Ph.D. thesis, I contemplated the idea of publishing the text. Examination of all the manuscripts of the chronicle that I suspected might contain this continuation revealed that it is unique to the Paris manuscript. This, coupled with the fact that the language of the text is very irregular even as Middle Arabic texts go, thus making it difficult to understand in certain places, and in many others difficult to translate, was cause for hesitation. I was encouraged to carry on, first and foremost, by my friend and colleague Dr. Amikam Elad of the Institute of Asian and African Studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. I am especially indebted to him for

his dedicated support and aid in all stages of the preparation of this book, investing in it not only his special knowledge, but also much of his time. I owe many thanks to my *SLAEI* editor, Lawrence I. Conrad, for the great effort he invested in the preparation of the manuscript for publication, as well as for the helpful and creative suggestions he offered throughout the text. Prof. B.Z. Kedar of the Dept. of History, who recognized the importance of the text, also constantly encouraged me to have it published. I should also like to thank Prof. Joshua Blau for his help in reading some the most difficult passages, Prof. Y. Naveh for his aid in reading the passages in Samaritan Arabic, and Prof. Z. Ben-Hayyim for his advice on some Samaritan matters. I owe thanks to many scholars in the Oriental Reading Room of the National and University Library in Jerusalem for their ideas and suggestions, among whom are Prof. Etan Kohlberg, Prof. Yohanan Friedmann, and Prof. Michael Lecker. The errors remain, of course, mine alone.

Most of all, I am grateful to my husband, Buni, who gave me constant support and encouragement throughout my work on this text, continuously urging me on to the finish.

Milka Levy-Rubin
Jerusalem, 3 March 1999



Sites Mentioned in the *Continuatio*

INTRODUCTION

THE PURPOSE OF THIS BOOK is to make available an important but hitherto neglected text that sheds light on the history of Palestine and its neighbouring countries, Syria and Egypt, during the early Muslim period, from the time of the Arab conquest to the fourth decade of the tenth century. This text, which will be called the *Continuatio* (for reasons that will be clarified below), appears at the end of the Samaritan chronicle *Kitāb al-ta'rīkh*, written in Arabic and compiled from earlier sources by Abū l-Faṭḥ ibn Abī l-Ḥasan al-Sāmīrī al-Danafī in CE 1355.

The text, the main part of which appears solely as part of one of the oldest and most trustworthy Mss. of the chronicle,¹ the Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. Samaritain no. 10,² describes the history of the Samaritans in Palestine during the early Muslim period up to and including the first third of the tenth century. It contains considerable information not only about the history of the Samaritan people, but also about political events of the period in Palestine, Syria and Egypt. What makes the information in this text especially valuable is the fact that it is of a completely different character from that conveyed in the Muslim chronicles pertaining to the same period. While the latter focus upon events, changes and intrigues that influenced the Muslim world in general, and the ruling class in its political centres in particular, our text presents the history of the period from two

¹The first part of the text presented in this book, covering the period from Muḥammad to Ḥarūn al-Rashīd, exists in a number of Mss. and has appeared already as part of Vilmar's edition of the Arabic text. For more detailed discussion of this part, see below, pp. 4, 43.

²See below, pp. 5-10, for a detailed discussion of the Ms., its history and relation to the other Mss.

other points of view. The first is the point of view of the *dhimmīs*, the “protected non-Muslim population” living under Muslim rule, whose conditions of life were essentially different from that of any Muslim of any class or status; a description of the life of the *dhimmīs* thus provides us with many new facts concerning how they lived, as well as a completely different outlook upon the events themselves. The second differentiating characteristic lies in the fact that Muslim chronicles were usually written in important Muslim centres of government such as Iraq (Baghdad) or Egypt (Fustāt/Cairo), Palestine being just a marginal and neglected province serving mainly as a thoroughway or, at most, as a post given to an aspiring general. The Samaritan text, on the other hand, is a local chronicle that naturally considers Palestine as the centre and views other countries and provinces as peripheral and marginal to its concerns. It provides the reader, therefore, with a special viewpoint of Palestine under Muslim rule, revealing many new facts concerning local events. These include the imposition of various restrictions upon the non-Muslim population, local rebellions, relations between the local rulers and the population, the attitude of the local population towards Muslim rule, processes such as Islamization and Arabization, and much more.

While chronicles of a similar nature were written mainly by members of different Christian groups in Egypt and in Mesopotamia (e.g. the Coptic Arabic chronicles of Eutychius and ps.-Severus ibn Muqaffa’ in Egypt, and the Jacobite Syriac history of Michael the Syrian and the Melkite Arabic chronicle of Agapius, both in north Syria), no such chronicle describing the history of Palestine during the early Muslim period exists. As Palestine is pushed to the margins in Muslim historiography, and since no other local history for this region is known, this chronicle seems to bear special importance. It is the purpose of this book to make this text available to scholars with an English translation and notes, in the hope that it will contribute to research on this period, not only for those interested in Samaritan history, but also, more broadly, for historians interested in various developments in Palestine and its neighbouring areas during the first three centuries of Islamic history.

Previous Research on the *Kitāb al-ta’rīkh* of Abū l-Faṭḥ

Scholars in the West have been familiar with the Samaritan chronicle of Abū l-Faṭḥ since 1653, when the chronicle was first brought to the attention of European scholarship by Abraham Ecchellensis. Different sections of the chronicle were then referred to and translated by various scholars, amongst

them Edward Bernard (1691), Christian Friedrich Schnürrer (1790), and the famous orientalist Silvestre de Sacy (1806).³ The first full critical edition of the text, based upon five manuscripts, was published by Vilmar in 1865.⁴ Eighteen years ago, a new and more comprehensive critical edition based on additional manuscripts was made by Paul Stenhouse.⁵ The latter also presented readers with a full English translation of the text for the first time.⁶ Since its discovery, this chronicle, which is in fact the only extended description of the history of the Samaritan people, has been a major source for the study of Samaritan history.⁷ This subject, it should be noted, has lately attracted considerable interest, and great progress has been made in the field in the past two decades.⁸

In spite of the considerable interest taken in Samaritan history in general, and in *Kitāb al-ta’rīkh* in particular, our text, which appears as part of the Paris Ms. Samaritain no. 10 of the *Kitāb*, has been neglected. The question, of course, is why this part of the Paris manuscript was overlooked in both the Vilmar and Stenhouse editions of the *Kitāb al-ta’rīkh*.

The answer to this question lies in two different considerations. The first, applied by Vilmar, is technical. Vilmar based his edition of the *Kitāb* upon five manuscripts:

³For a complete and thorough survey of the history of research on this chronicle, see Stenhouse, *Kitāb*, Introduction (below, n. 5), Vol. I, Part I, introduction, Chap. 1, pp. 1–6.

⁴E. Vilmar, ed. *Abulfathi Annales Samaritani* (Gothae, 1865), to be referred to subsequently as “Vilmar.”

⁵P. Stenhouse, ed., *The Kitāb ‘l-Ta’rīkh of Abū ‘l-Faṭḥ—A New Edition with Notes*, Ph.D. thesis (Sydney, 1980), to be referred to subsequently as “Stenhouse, *Kitāb*” (available in microfiche form from the Mandelbaum Trust, University of Sydney, Sydney, Australia).

⁶*The Kitāb ‘l-Ta’rīkh of Abū ‘l-Faṭḥ—Translated and Annotated by P. Stenhouse* (University of Sydney: Mandelbaum Trust, 1985; *Studies in Judaica* 1), to be referred to subsequently as “Stenhouse, trans.”

⁷As has already been pointed out by Stenhouse, scholars have in the past accused Abū l-Faṭḥ of distorting facts intentionally, of (unintentional) confusion, and of “plagiarizing” other sources; see, e.g., J.W. Nutt, *Fragments of a Samaritan Targum* (London, 1874), p. 126; J.A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans* (Philadelphia, 1907), p. 69 n. 49. But the value of the chronicle as a document reflecting a Samaritan view of their history has since then been recognized. See Stenhouse, *Kitāb*, Chap. 5, pp. 3–4.

⁸See A.D. Crown, ed., *The Samaritans* (Tübingen, 1986), an updated volume summing up research on the subject. See also recently A.D. Crown and L. Davey, eds., *Essays in Honour of G.D. Sizenier—New Samaritan Studies of the Société d’Études Samaritaines III & IV* (Sydney, 1995).

The considerations guiding Stenhouse were methodological rather than technical. His task was to present a new critical edition of the *Kitāb*, based on all the new additional manuscripts known to him. This *per se* should not, of course, have excluded the *Continuatio* found in the Paris manuscript. Rather, it was Stenhouse's decision that only the original chronicle compiled by Abū l-Faṭḥ himself would be included in his edition. Stenhouse accepted Vilmar's conclusion that Abū l-Faṭḥ's chronicle extended as far as Muḥammad's career and did not continue beyond it;¹¹ he therefore limited his edition and translation of the *Kitāb* to that part considered to be original, and left out all those parts that continued beyond Muḥammad's time in the manuscripts before him, considering them to comprise a different composition.¹²

The Relationship between the *Continuatio* and the *Kitāb*

In the prologue to *Kitāb al-ta'rīkh*, Abū l-Faṭḥ explains the circumstances that led him to write the chronicle and presents the scope of his work, its sources and his methodology. He states¹³ that it was a meeting with the high priest Pinḥas in AH 753 (= CE 1352–53) that had encouraged him to take upon himself the task of compiling this chronicle. Abū l-Faṭḥ had complained that there was no knowledge of the history of the Samaritans; the people themselves were scattered, he says, and their chronicles were in a state of disarray. Pinḥas had then imposed upon him the task of compiling a chronicle based on the existing sources, a work that would record all the events "from the Creation of Adam until recent times." It was only three years later, in the year 756/1355, that Abū l-Faṭḥ actually sat down to write the chronicle.

On the face of things it would thus seem very plausible that the latter part of the text, following the time of Muḥammad, is an integral part of Abū l-Faṭḥ's chronicle, and was intended to carry the history of the Samaritan people up to his own time. Nevertheless, Vilmar advances several convincing arguments in support of the claim that the original chronicle written by Abū l-Faṭḥ went only up to the time of Muḥammad.¹⁴ The first is that two of his manuscripts ended with Muḥammad's emergence, while the scribe of the third (C, the Paris Ms., which included the longest additional part) created

¹¹Cf. the discussion in the next section below.

¹²Stenhouse, *Kitāb*, Chap. 6, p. 19.

¹³For the description of these circumstances see Vilmar, pp. 4–5; Stenhouse, trans., pp. 2–3.

¹⁴See Vilmar, intro., lxxv–lxxvii.

Ms. A = Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz,

Or. Ms. 4° no. 471 (copied 1859);

Ms. B = Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Petermann I 8 (copied 1813);

Ms. C = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Samaritain no. 10
(copied 1523);

Ms. D = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Huntington no. 350
(copied 1596);

Ms. F = Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Petermann I 5 (copied 16th c.?).

Three of these Mss., Vilmar's B, D and F, carried the chronicle up to the time of Muḥammad, including the story of his recognition by the three astrologers—the Jew, the Christian and the Samaritan. The two other Mss., A and C, continued beyond this point. Vilmar published this additional section, continuing up to the point where Ms. A stopped, i.e. the reign of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (r. 170–93/786–809). From that point onwards, he was left with only Ms. C, which continued up to the time of the caliph al-Rāḍī (r. 322–29/934–40). The Arabic in this section, according to Vilmar's report, was corrupt to such a degree that he declared that he could not copy it and was therefore unable to publish it; neither did he want to take the risk of emending the text.⁹ This situation may nowadays be rectified to some degree. First, it is possible to provide a facsimile copy of the manuscript, thus avoiding the need to "correct" the text in difficult places; in addition, dialects of Middle Arabic (= MA) are now recognized as such, with their special style and grammar, and do not need to be "corrected" to adhere to the conventions of Classical Arabic (CA). Moreover, due to the great advances made in the study of the dialects of MA (see below), many stylistic difficulties may now be solved. Yet, in spite of all this, Vilmar was indeed justified in noting that the text is difficult and problematic in many places, as will be discussed below.

Although Vilmar decided not to publish the text, he considered it to be of great importance¹⁰ and therefore gave a short summary of this part in Latin (no impediment for Orientalists in those days!) on pp. lxxx–lxxxiv of his introduction. It was therefore only technical limitations that prevented Vilmar from publishing the unique *Continuatio* found in the Paris manuscript.

⁹Vilmar, intro., lxxix: "Quae praeter primum horum additamentarum caput... in codice C, reperiuntur tam corruptis litteris scripta sunt, ut verba Arabica typis exscribi et in lucem edi nequeant. Neque enim ausus sum librum, qui gravissimis scripturae vitiis laboraret et difficilimus esset intellectu, pro meo arbitrio emendare emendatumque edere."

¹⁰*Ibid.*

a clear division between the first (original) part, and the second (additional) part, inserting his colophon at the end of the first part, and once again at the end of the composition. The fourth Ms. (A, Berlin no. 471) was the only one that continued straight on, with no interruption, and it was the latest among the manuscripts. Ms. F was only partial, and could not therefore provide useful testimony on this point. The second substantial argument is that at the point of Muḥammad's emergence, the author chooses to cite the full list of Samaritan high priests, after which he concludes with the date of the writing of this chronicle, giving both the *hijra* date and the computation from the time of the Creation.

In addition, Vilmar suggests that it is logical that the chronicle should stop at the time of Muḥammad, since the rise of Islam is considered by the Samaritans as a crucial turning point in history. The period of God's "turning away"—the Age of Disfavour, *fanūta* in Aramaic—is to last 3000 years. In the year 2950 the *tāhib*, the Samaritan "Messiah," will arrive, and the Age of Grace, *raḥūta* or *riḏwān*, will return.¹⁵ According to these eschatological computations, the *hijra* occurred in the year 2000 of the *fanūta*, and ushered in, therefore, the last third of the *fanūta*, a time of expectation. These last 1000 years were also the sixth millennium from the time of the Creation, the last millennium before the return of the *raḥūta*, which will occupy the seventh millennium—the Jubilee.¹⁶ According to this concept, the days of Islamic rule could be considered as part of this last period, the main import of which is expectation, the waiting for the end of the *fanūta* and the arrival of the *tāhib*.

This last argument can be turned around, since if the *hijra* is indeed such a crucial turning point in Samaritan history, it might justify this specific structure of the chronicle as it appears in Ms. C (Paris), which chooses to distinguish sharply between the period before Muḥammad and that following his arrival. This counter-argument is weakened, however, by two other arguments advanced by Vilmar. One refers to the system of dating: in the second part a new method of calculation, according to the Sabbatical Year, appears beside the former ones, which include the calculation according to the years of Creation, the *hijra*, and according to the priesthood. The second argument refers to the style of the chronicle. The additional material

¹⁵On Samaritan eschatology, see F. Dexinger, "Samaritan Eschatology," in Crown, *Samaritans*, pp. 266–92.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 280.

after the *hijra* is written in a very careless and loose style, which is obviously different from the concise and clear style of Abū l-Faṭḥ in the first part, although both are written in Middle Arabic. If Abū l-Faṭḥ had incorporated this part into his chronicle, he would no doubt have improved its style.

It should be noted, however, that although the difference in style is clear it cannot be said that the style of the first part is completely uniform. Stenhouse states that "Abū l-Faṭḥ does not present a uniformly unconventional style—but rather an irregularity of style that can be explained, at least in part, by the variety of sources from which he is quoting verbatim."¹⁷ It is thus possible to argue that having a fluent Arabic source in front of him, Abū l-Faṭḥ did not make the effort to go over it, edit it, and improve its style.

This said, Vilmar's arguments as a whole still appear to be convincing. It still seems very likely that this additional part was not, in fact, part of the original composition of Abū l-Faṭḥ.

It is important to add that the fact that the *Continuatio* does not seem to be part of the original compilation of Abū l-Faṭḥ does not diminish its significance. The Paris manuscript was copied 170 years after the original *Kitāb* was compiled, while Abū l-Faṭḥ himself wrote his composition hundreds of years after the events actually took place. What is significant in our case, therefore, is not so much the identity of the compiler as the credibility of his sources. This question will be dealt with separately below.

The Paris Ms. and its Relation to the Other Mss.

As already mentioned above, two of Vilmar's five manuscripts included the *Continuatio*: A (Ms. Berlin no. 471) stopped at Hārūn al-Rashīd's time, while C (Ms. Paris) alone continued on until the days of al-Rāḏī. Since Vilmar, numerous other manuscripts have come to light. It should be noted that many of these are copies made by the Samaritans in the second half of the nineteenth and in the first half of the twentieth century in response to the brisk demand of Western scholars for such texts. Many of these were thus actually copied around the time in which Vilmar produced his edition and afterwards. Moreover, there is a large group of late amplified versions of Abū l-Faṭḥ,¹⁸ written freely, which include many later additions and interpretations for the convenience of the modern reader. Some of these additional

¹⁷Stenhouse, *Kitāb*, Chap. 4, p. 5.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, Chap. 2, p. 2 and n. 13. These include: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. 4° no. 963; London, British Library, Or. Ms. no. 7927; Cambridge, Girton College, Ms. no. 18; New York, Jewish Theological Seminary, Sulzberger Ms. no. 3473; Vatican City, Bibliotheca

manuscripts include the first part of the *Continuatio*, after the model of Vilmar's Ms. A, and were considered during the work done here on the first part of the *Continuatio*.¹⁹

It should be stressed, however, that none of these manuscripts include the section from Hārūn al-Rashīd's time until the reign of al-Rāḍī (i.e. the period from CE 809 until about 940); this is so in spite of the fact that some of them pretend to give a full and complete history up to the time the manuscript was copied. They in fact pick up again later, in the tenth century, with Kāfūr's reign (called "al-Malik al-Sarīs from Kūsh or Sūdān") at the end of the tenth century, or with the reign of al-Ḥākim, called here al-Ḥākim ibn al-Mu'īz (*sic.*), at the beginning of the eleventh century—all of them skip completely the intervening period covered by our text. In so far as the extant textual tradition allows us to judge, then, among all the manuscripts of the *Kitāb* the Paris manuscript with its augmented *Continuatio* seems to stand alone.

Thanks to the comprehensive and thorough work done by Stenhouse on the manuscripts of Abū l-Faṭḥ while working on his critical edition,²⁰ we have comprehensive and well-established information concerning the Paris manuscript and its relationship to the other manuscripts.²¹ According to its colophons, the Paris Ms. (Vilmar's Ms. C) was copied during the years 1523–24: the first part was completed on 18 Jumādā I 930/24 March 1524,²² while the second part, covering the period from Muḥammad to al-Rāḍī, was completed on 20 Ramaḍān 930/22 July 1524.²³ The copyist was Musallam ibn Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Hiba ibn Qabāš the Samaritan, of the clan of Yūsuf, the Israelite. It is the oldest, or perhaps second oldest, extant manuscript of the *Kitāb*; the Sassoon Samaritan Ms. no. 36 may be older, since, although it bears no copying date, another composition copied by the same scribe was completed in 1502.²⁴ The Paris Ms. remained in the copyist's family at least until 4 March 1560 (see colophon at Ms. p. 257 and note thereto). Other

Apostolica Vaticana, Sbath Ms. no. 742; Manchester, John Rylands Library, Sam. Ms. no. 234. Another manuscript mentioned by Stenhouse is Boston, Barton College, Mugar Library, Sam. Ms. no. 7; this Ms. could not, however, be identified by the librarians of the Mugar Library.

¹⁹See below, pp. 43–44.

²⁰See Stenhouse, *Kitāb*, Chap. 2.

²¹*Ibid.*, Chap. 3.

²²Ms. p. 201.

²³*Ibid.*, p. 264.

²⁴See Stenhouse, *Kitāb*, Chap. 2, pp. 5–7.

names of members of the Qabās family are scribbled in notes at the end of the Ms.²⁵

The history of the Paris manuscript, which was somewhat obscure,²⁶ was finally clarified by Stenhouse.²⁷ The manuscript arrived in Europe not long afterwards. Already at the end of the sixteenth century or the beginning of the seventeenth it formed part of the collection of Nicholas Claude Fabri de Peirsac (1580–1637). From there it passed into the hands of the Cardinal Mazarin (1602–61), receiving the signature Ms. no. 2008; after his death, it came into the possession of the Bibliothèque du Roi (no. 839 of the Catalogue de Clément); in 1739 it was recatalogued as Ms. no. 5 of the Bibliothèque du Roi, and at the end of the nineteenth century it finally received its present signature.

Stenhouse's research into the manuscripts also shows that the Paris manuscript occupies a unique place in the stemma of the extant manuscripts. It is the sole manuscript to derive in an independent line from the archetype, in that no other known manuscripts are related to it.²⁸ This is clearly reflected by the fact that the manuscripts that belong to Stenhouse's Family A all seem to derive from a no-longer-extant copy made in 1492.²⁹ This is attested by the fact that the earliest surviving member of Family A, the Huntington manuscript (Vilmar's D), states the date of completion of the manuscript by Abū l-Faṭḥ on the last page as AH 898 (= CE 1492),³⁰ instead of the correct original date on which Abū l-Faṭḥ finished compiling the *Kitāb* (756/1355). The year 1492 was obviously the date when the direct source used by the copyist of the Huntington Ms. was completed. It should be noted that there is no doubt as to the date of compilation by Abū l-Faṭḥ, since he takes care to mention it already at the beginning of the *Kitāb*.³¹ In fact, it is only the Paris manuscript that preserves the original date (rather than 1492) of Abū l-Faṭḥ's completion at the end of the text as well.

That the Paris manuscript has no later relations is explained by the fact that it left the possession of the Samaritans and was transferred to Europe

²⁵I would like to thank my editor, Lawrence I. Conrad, for drawing my attention to this fact.

²⁶See Vilmar, intro., xvii; Stenhouse, *Kitāb*, Chap. 2, p. 3.

²⁷Stenhouse, *Kitāb*, Chap. 2, p. 38.

²⁸*Ibid.*, Chap. 3, pp. 19, 25.

²⁹*Ibid.*, Chap. 2, pp. 9–11.

³⁰Vilmar, p. 178.

³¹*Ibid.*, pp. 4–5.

very early in its history, and thus could not have been used as a model for later copyists in the Near East. In addition, it seems that no earlier or contemporary relatives of the Paris manuscripts remained in the hands of the Samaritan community in Nablus after the removal of the Paris Ms., otherwise they would have been copied. The Paris manuscript therefore seems to stand completely alone among the manuscripts of the *Kitāb*.

The special status of the Paris manuscript accounts well for the fact that it is the sole manuscript among all of them to carry the *Continuatio* about 140 years beyond the other manuscripts, to the time of al-Rāḍī. It is also alone in preserving a very important and intriguing section in the first part of the *Continuatio*.³² This part, which preserves an ancient and quite detailed local Samaritan description of the Muslim conquest of Caesarea, is not to be found in any of the other manuscripts that contain the *Continuatio* up to the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd.

Unless the unexpected happens and another manuscript belonging to this same branch of the stemma turns up, we shall have to make do with this one unique manuscript that preserves the *Continuatio* all the way to the tenth century.

The *Continuatio* as a Historical Source

The *Continuatio* exhibits close proximity, both in time and in place, to the events described in the text. It is clearly familiar not only with events that take place in the local arena, but is also acquainted with the main events in the Muslim world at large.

The Local Character of the Chronicle

When Vilmar reviewed the *Continuatio* (*Additamenta* in his terms) of Abū l-Faṭḥ, he expressed his opinion that the sources employed seem to have been contemporary to the events described. This, he notes, is made evident by the fact that they often write in the first person plural.³³

The use of the first person plural in the description of events indeed stands out prominently. Thus, for example, at the end of the hardships

³²See Vilmar, pp. 178–80; Ms. pp. 205–207.

³³Vilmar, intro., lxxvii: “E sermonis pravitate negligentique scriptionis genere equidem conjecerim, a librariis has narrationes exeuntibus libris adjectas esse. Sed libri, e quibus depromatae sunt, a scriptoribus rerum narratarum aequalibus compositi esse videntur. Nam rerum auctores, quippe qui rebus a se narratis ipsi interfuerint, persaepe prima persona loquuntur. Horum igitur additamentorum antiquissimi sunt fontes.”

encountered by the Samaritans during the days of Hārūn al-Rashīd the text reads: “All these hardships [came upon us] when we defied our God”.³⁴ In the time of Muḥammad al-Amīn’s rule, the Samaritans suffered: “And we were terrified by night and by day,” then “we returned to our homes”.³⁵ During al-Ma’mūn’s reign (r. 198–218/813–33), “we were scattered amongst the people and fled in fear of the sword”.³⁶ When describing the annulment of the system of the *ḥakākima* the text reads: “We were forced to call upon judges without wisdom”.³⁷ It is of course possible that the use of the first person plural is just a manner of speech denoting the identification of the author with the “Samaritan people” rather than a reference to his own times. Yet this is not the case in the original chronicle of Abū l-Faṭḥ, where the usual expression is “the Samaritans” or just “they” (*passim*). Abū l-Faṭḥ says distinctly that he is basing his history upon written sources.³⁸ I would therefore tend to believe that this style of writing attests to the fact that the author or authors (see below on sources) not only lived at the time of the events, but actually experienced them as well.

This conclusion is further supported by the fact that the author reports minute details exhibiting an intimate knowledge of the time and circumstances in which the events took place. Thus, the location of the grave of the *ra’īs* Nethan’el is described as “opposite the tomb of Zeno, close by the road that leads to al-Sārīn. . .”,³⁹ revealing the author’s first-hand acquaintance with the local burial grounds and traditions concerning them. When describing the arrival of the rebel Abū Ḥarb in the vicinity of Nablus during the 840s, he informs the reader that “fighting broke out on Thursday”.⁴⁰ The author also reveals precise knowledge of natural phenomena—earthquakes, shooting stars, droughts, etc.—and often specifies such details as the exact time, place and the intensity in which they occurred, e.g.: “On Thursday, which fell upon the fourth day of Tishrīn, stars were seen falling at night from the east towards the west, and towards the south—a momentous event. . . After four

³⁴See below, p. 67.

³⁵See below, p. 70.

³⁶See below, p. 71.

³⁷See below, p. 83.

³⁸This is said both at the beginning of the chronicle (Vilmar, pp. 4–6; Stenhouse, trans., pp. 2–5), and, e.g., Vilmar, p. 145 (= Stenhouse, trans., p. 201), where he refers to disagreement vs. agreement among the sources.

³⁹See below, pp. 81–82.

⁴⁰See below, p. 86.

days there came a great sandstorm. . . .";⁴¹ or: "For ten days in the month of Tishrīn stars were seen falling from the sky; in their descent they coughed up fires, like immense lightning, and they continued from the middle of the night until after sunrise, falling one after the other";⁴² or the following description of a great drought:

After that the heavens held back the rain for three years, and the sky became like copper and the earth like iron in the winter [for a long] time. The springs dwindled, the trees and the vegetation dried up, the trees dropped their blossoms, and there was a rise in prices so great that it led to fatalities.⁴³

There are many such detailed descriptions of earthquakes,⁴⁴ droughts,⁴⁵ locust attacks,⁴⁶ and plagues.⁴⁷

On another occasion the author reveals to the reader that his sources are first-hand witnesses of the events: "The Samaritans of Kafr Tiya [who] related the story suffered with those who fled, but those who reached the coast were not harmed".⁴⁸ It seems that the information was written down soon after the events themselves, and the impression is that the author himself heard the moving account from injured refugees.

It seems, in fact, that the chronicle was written so close to the time of the events that at times they were recorded in a confused and hurried fashion, like a reporter writing a first draft in the field. This is directly supported in one place where the author expressly apologizes for not having had time to record the events:

We did not write down their recollection [of events] during this period, nor that of the kings of the land, because we were preoccupied with our own affairs; there was no one left who had the zeal, or was interested in taking it upon himself, except a few people from amongst all the groups of the Muslims.⁴⁹

⁴¹See below, pp. 94–95.

⁴²See below, p. 115.

⁴³See below, pp. 100–101.

⁴⁴See below, pp. 56, 94, 111.

⁴⁵See below, pp. 100–101, 112.

⁴⁶See below, pp. 62, 71, 72, 113.

⁴⁷See below, pp. 64–65, 87, 105.

⁴⁸See below, pp. 96–97.

⁴⁹See below, p. 90.

This crude style of writing sometimes makes it difficult to understand the exact meaning of the text. Thus, in some cases a certain situation is described, and then, without any warning, the events leading up to it are reported. This can be seen, for example, in the story concerning 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir, the commander who "had mercy upon the people, and lightened their affliction except for the [damage] done by the rebels, to which there was no limit." Without warning the text then goes on to describe that former situation: "All the people had left their places vacant, run away and strayed from their beliefs. . . ." ⁵⁰ Only after this sentence does it become evident that this is in fact a description of the situation that was corrected by Ibn Ṭāhir.

This proximity in time and place to the events, in addition to the distinctly Samaritano-centric character of the *Continuatio*, accounts also for the strong local colour that the text bears. Thus, although the author always starts with a general picture of events and describes the political background of the situation, he invariably zooms in and focuses upon occurrences in Palestine, and more specifically in Samaria, and it is quite obvious that he was a resident of Nablus or one of its neighbouring villages.

Thus, for example, the "War of the Watermelon," which took place between the Qays and Yaman factions in Palestine in the last decade of the eighth century, is first described by the author in general; he then moves on to describe in detail the effects of this war—the famine and plague that followed it—upon the residents of the area in general and the Samaritans in particular.⁵¹ After describing the general background and events concerning the revolt of Abū Ḥarb, the author continues and describes in minute detail his attacks on the villages of Samaria and their consequences: he describes how the rebels wreaked havoc in the vicinity of Nablus, and how, after several attempts by the authorities in Ramla to suppress them failed, they continued to rob, loot and terrorise the local population, which fled in fear. The description culminates in the murder of the *ra'īs*, the high priest of the Samaritans.⁵² Another example is the restrictions imposed by the caliph al-Mutawakkil (r. 232–47/847–61) upon the *dhimmīs*. The *Continuatio* first provides a detailed description of the restrictions imposed in Palestine;⁵³ then the author goes on to describe in particular how the Samaritan community in

⁵⁰See below, p. 76.

⁵¹See below, pp. 62–67; Vilmar, pp. 184–86.

⁵²See below, pp. 84–89.

⁵³For this there is no other evidence; see below, p. 16.

Palestine contended with them.⁵⁴ The order that every *dhimmī* should affix an idol to his doorpost was considered especially offensive by the Samaritans in Palestine, and they managed to alleviate this indignity by receiving permission to choose their own image—a candelabrum. It should be noted that although many of these cases are specific incidents concerning the Samaritans, they provide us with an insight into the daily life of the local population, vividly illustrating the specific local effects that large-scale political, military and social events and decisions had upon the inhabitants of the country.

Familiarity with Events in the Muslim Empire

In spite of this strong local flavour, the author of the chronicle is far from being narrow-minded and provincial and is surprisingly knowledgeable about general events occurring in the Muslim world. Thus, he reports about the 'Abbāsid revolution, its course and its consequences.⁵⁵ He also displays impressive knowledge about the contract drawn by Hārūn al-Rashīd concerning the division of the empire among his heirs;⁵⁶ like some of the Muslim sources, he reports not only that Muḥammad al-Amīn was neglectful of his kingdom, but also that he “adorned himself, cleaving to the boys, dressing them as women, adorning them with women’s ornaments, sleeping with them and clinging to them”.⁵⁷ He reports in detail the movements of Khālīd ibn Yazīd and 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir, the two generals sent by al-Ma'mūn to quell the revolts against him. He knows of Khālīd's journey to Egypt, his initial success and later his defeat and departure; he is also familiar with 'Abd Allāh's success in defeating the rebel Nāṣr ibn Shabath in Ḥimṣ, and with his victory over the rebels in Egypt and his conquest of North Africa.⁵⁸ He knows about al-Mutawakkil's unsuccessful short-term attempt to move his capital to Damascus, mentions the deposition of the caliph al-Musta'in and his epithet *al-makhlū' min banī Hāshim*, and is aware of the complicated relationship between the caliph al-Mu'tamid (r. 256–79/870–92) and his brother Abū Aḥmad.⁵⁹ Despite the fact that it is clearly a local Samaritan chronicle, it is very well tied in, therefore, with the political and social developments and events that occurred in the Muslim empire, describing the events, however,

⁵⁴See below, pp. 92–94.

⁵⁵See below, pp. 56–57; Vilmar, p. 181.

⁵⁶See below, pp. 67–68.

⁵⁷See below, pp. 68–69 and nn. 175–79.

⁵⁸See below, pp. 74–76.

⁵⁹See below, pp. 96–99.

from a very unusual angle—not that of a Muslim intellectual in Baghdad, Cairo or Damascus, who would usually view circumstances through the eyes of the ruling elite, but rather that of a *dhimmī* in Palestine.⁶⁰

The argument for the proximity of the *Continuatio* to the events is strengthened even further by the fact that in certain cases names belonging to the history of the period, which were preserved in the *Continuatio*, were no longer known to the copyist, who had difficulty in identifying them and copying them correctly. Thus, the name Qays is erroneously written as Qabs;⁶¹ Judhām is spelt Ḥudām;⁶² the word Kinānīyīn, which appears twice, is written on both occasions without diacritical points (كناس) implying that the copyist was not familiar with this name.⁶³ Khumārawayh's name is copied consistently as Jumāz instead of Khumār;⁶⁴ Aḥmad ibn Ṭulūn's name is twice copied as Ibn Tūbūn before it is correctly spelt a few pages later;⁶⁵ and the name Ibn Ṭughj appears several times as Ibn Ṭufḥ.⁶⁶

Thus, although no specific date can be determined, the use of the first person plural, in addition to the presence of many details pertaining to local and general matters, including numerous names, events and dates (some of which could no longer be identified by the copyist), all point to the proximity of the *Continuatio*'s sources to the events in time and place.

The Credibility of the Chronicle

Since the *Continuatio* supplies us with plentiful new information, it is of special importance to establish its credibility, especially when it comes to information that is not directly or exclusively connected with the area of Samaria. This can of course be done by comparing facts that appear in the chronicle with those known from other sources, in this case mainly Muslim sources. Several of these cases, which are well corroborated with the Muslim sources, have already been presented above. There are many others beside these, including: a) the well-known earthquake in Palestine in 749 (in the days of Marwān ibn Muḥammad, the last of the Umayyad caliphs),

⁶⁰The importance of this sort of perspective has recently been stressed in R.W. Bulliet, *Islam: the View from the Edge* (New York, 1994), pp. 1–12.

⁶¹See below, p. 70.

⁶²See below, p. 69.

⁶³See below, p. 70.

⁶⁴See below, pp. 106–108.

⁶⁵See below, p. 99.

⁶⁶See below, pp. 114–16.

known from Jewish and Muslim sources;⁶⁷ b) the depiction of the extortionate ruler of Palestine during the days of al-Manṣūr (r. 136–58/754–75), ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, which is corroborated by Ibn ‘Asākir—a reliable source containing much information concerning Palestine and Syria in this period that is not to be found elsewhere;⁶⁸ c) the building of a fortress by al-Mutawakkil in Damascus, also corroborated solely by Ibn ‘Asākir;⁶⁹ d) al-Ma’mūn’s successful military attack against Byzantium in the year before his death,⁷⁰ and al-Mu’taṣim’s famous expedition in 838, which culminated with the destruction of Amorium,⁷¹ mentioned here in passing; e) the famous rebellion of Abū Ḥarb, described in detail by our chronicle and well corroborated by Muslim sources,⁷² as is its final suppression by Rajā’ ibn Ayyūb al-Ḥidārī;⁷³ f) the list of restrictions applied by al-Mutawakkil, as presented in the *Continuatio*, is almost identical to the list in al-Ṭabarī, proving the author’s close acquaintance with the issue and contributing much to our knowledge concerning this matter.⁷⁴ Additional corroborations may be found in the mention of al-Mutawakkil’s murder by his son, the future caliph al-Muntaṣir (r. 247–48/861–62);⁷⁵ the rebellion of a man named al-Qiṭāmī, which was quelled by a general named Muzāḥim ibn Khāqān;⁷⁶ the report about the caliph al-Mu’tamid and his relations with his brother al-Muwaffaq, called Abū Aḥmad, who actually detained the caliph in his palace at Jawsaq;⁷⁷ the reports concerning the growth of Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn’s dominion, the course of his expanding hegemony over Syria, Palestine, and Egypt,⁷⁸ and the fortress he built in Jaffa;⁷⁹ and his surprisingly intricate knowledge about the heirs of Ibn Ṭūlūn and about wars waged by his generals against al-Muwaffaq’s commanders both in Shayzar and in Nahr al-Ṭawāḥīn.⁸⁰

⁶⁷For references, see below, p. 56 n. 77.

⁶⁸See below, pp. 58–59 and n. 92.

⁶⁹See below, p. 96 and n. 438.

⁷⁰See below, p. 79.

⁷¹See below, p. 84 n. 309.

⁷²See below, pp. 84–89.

⁷³See below, pp. 88–89 and notes.

⁷⁴See below, pp. 91–93 and notes.

⁷⁵See below, pp. 97–98 and n. 454.

⁷⁶See below, pp. 96–97 and notes.

⁷⁷See below, pp. 98–99 and nn. 462–63.

⁷⁸See below, pp. 99–100, 102–105, and notes.

⁷⁹See below, p. 104 and n. 518.

⁸⁰See below, pp. 106–108 and notes.

There are, however, several cases of imprecision and confusion. These fall into the following categories:

1. Most of the dates given in the *Continuatio* are indeed correct. But in one case, that of al-Ma’mūn’s attack upon Byzantium, the date given is April 833,⁸¹ while the successful expedition referred to actually took place in 832.⁸² Al-Ma’mūn left on his second expedition, from which he never returned, on 9 August 833. There seems to have been some confusion here between the two expeditions. The other cases of imprecision in dating pertain to the list of the reigns of the caliphs: the reign of Yazīd ibn Mu‘āwiya is omitted; Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam reigned for nine or ten months, not four; ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr ruled, according to tradition, for nine years and one month, and not eight years and five months; ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān ruled for 21 years and one month, not for thirteen years and six months. In a few other places there are slight inaccuracies: ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz reigned for two years and five months, while our source cites two years and six months; Yazīd ibn ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān ruled for four years and a month, not for four years. Some of these are no doubt just mistakes, the clearest being ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān; still others, the less clear-cut ones, might reflect the different Muslim traditions that were “in the air,” as attested by al-Ṭabarī himself, who chooses to cite other available traditions beside the widely accepted one that he presents.⁸³ There are also a few errors and inaccuracies concerning the ruling period of some ‘Abbāsīd caliphs. Thus, al-Musta‘īn reigned for four years, not for two and a half,⁸⁴ and al-Mu’tamid reigned for 22 and not 24 years.⁸⁵
2. Cases of imprecision and error concerning events are few in number. They include a reference to Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn’s “conquest” of Barqa and Alexandria, which according to Muslim sources were handed over to his jurisdiction by Yārjūj, the Egyptian apānagist, not taken by force,⁸⁶ a gross error where Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī, al-Ma’mūn’s uncle,

⁸¹See below, p. 79 and n. 273.

⁸²*Ibid.*

⁸³See, e.g., below, pp. 54–56, nn. 60, 65, 70–71, 74.

⁸⁴See below, p. 98 and n. 458.

⁸⁵*Ibid.*

⁸⁶See below, p. 100 and n. 478.

who acted as caliph for a short term and then abdicated, is confused with Abū Ishāq ibn Hārūn al-Mu'taṣim, who first served as governor of Syria and was proclaimed caliph after al-Ma'mūn's death;⁸⁷ and a mistaken reference to Khumārawayh's two generals as "his sons," a mistake that seems to correct itself in the next sentence.⁸⁸

3. There are several instances of imprecision in names. Al-Mu'tamid's brother, al-Muwaffaq, who bore the *kunya* Abū Aḥmad, is called Abū Muḥammad in the text;⁸⁹ the leader of the rebels in Damascus during the days of al-Wāthiq, Ibn Bayhas, is called here Ibn 'Abbās;⁹⁰ Khumārawayh's general, Sa'd al-Aysar, is called here Sa'id,⁹¹ and the Umayyad caliph Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik is called Hāshim.⁹² Names are sometimes spelt wrongly or awkwardly: the caliph Abū Bakr's name, 'Atīq ibn Abī l-Quḥāfa, is spelt 'Atīk,⁹³ and Shayzar is spelt Shayjar. In at least some cases these imprecisions seem to point to the use of oral sources. Thus Ibn Bayhas could easily be turned by an unaccustomed ear into Ibn 'Abbās; and Abū Aḥmad could easily be memorized as Abū Muḥammad. This seems much less feasible when using a written source. The cases of 'Atīq being spelt 'Atīk, and Shayzar as Shayjar, also serve as an indication of the use of an oral source, since they obviously could not be copyist's errors.

The number of errors, however, is on the whole quite small. Thus it seems that although the author had access most of the time to accurate information concerning the periods of the reigns of the caliphs, he was sometimes misguided by his sources, or alternatively was not sufficiently alert to the potential for error in this matter.

It can therefore be concluded that the *Continuatio* is, most of the time, a reliable source. It bears detailed and trustworthy information concerning activities and events in Palestine and its surroundings, and is normally reliable in conveying information about general events in the Muslim world. It should be noted, however, that naturally the latter sort of information

⁸⁷See below, pp. 76–77, 78, 80, 84, and nn. 246, 261, 264, 278, 308.

⁸⁸See below, p. 106 n. 537.

⁸⁹See below, pp. 98–99 and nn. 462–63.

⁹⁰See below, p. 88 and n. 352.

⁹¹See below, p. 106 and n. 538.

⁹²See below, p. 55 and n. 69.

⁹³See below, p. 53 and n. 50.

is sometimes partial and incomplete. This is exemplified well by the problematic cases of the time-spans of the reigns of the caliphs, by an awkward mistake such as putting Ibrāhīm in place of Abū Ishāq, or of calling al-Muwaffaq Abū Muḥammad instead of Abū Aḥmad. Also awkward is the use of the first names of the caliphs instead of their titles, a practice unheard of among Muslim historians. In this case, a Samaritan historian living in a far-off province can in no way be compared to Muslim historians, who had the advantage of a profound knowledge of Muslim culture and were usually close to the centre of events and thus had easy access to reliable information.

Language, Style and Terminology

The *Continuatio* is written in Samaritan Arabic (= *SA*), a dialect of what is called Middle Arabic (= *MA*), which also comprehends Christian Arabic (= *ChA*) and Judeo-Arabic (= *JA*). *MA* serves as the link bridging between Classical Arabic and the modern Arabic dialects; it represents, so it seems, the vernacular Arabic that developed in the East after the Arab conquest, but was not represented by Muslim writers of Arabic due to their strict concept of 'arabīya.⁹⁴ *MA* is therefore often best documented by non-Muslim groups who adopted the Arabic language. The different dialects of Middle Arabic have been intensively researched in the past few decades, Joshua Blau being responsible for the main breakthrough in this field through his investigations of *CA* and *JA*.⁹⁵ Lately, Paul Stenhouse has paid special attention to Samaritan Arabic in his new edition of Abū l-Faṭḥ.⁹⁶ Important progress in the field of *SA* is also being made by Haseeb Shehadeh, whose first volume of the Arabic version of the Samaritan Pentateuch, including Genesis and Exodus, was published in 1989.⁹⁷

⁹⁴J. Blau, "The Importance of Middle Arabic Dialects for the History of Arabic," *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 9 (1961), pp. 206–28; *idem*, *A Grammar of Christian Arabic Based Mainly on South-Palestinian Texts from the First Millennium*, I (Louvain, 1966), pp. i–ii, 19–20.

⁹⁵For *ChA* see his monumental *Grammar*; for *JA* see *idem*, *The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judaeo-Arabic* (Oxford, 1965). See also B. Knutsson, *Studies in the Text and Language of Three Syriac-Arabic Versions of the Book of Iudicum with Special Reference to the Middle Arabic Elements* (Leiden, 1974).

⁹⁶P. Stenhouse, "Samaritan Arabic," in Crown, *Samaritans*, pp. 585–623.

⁹⁷H. Shehadeh, ed., *The Arabic Translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch* (Jerusalem, 1989). See also *idem*, "When did Arabic Replace Samaritan Aramaic?," in M. Bar-Asher, A. Dotan *et al.*, eds., *Hebrew Language Studies Presented to Professor Zeev Ben Hayyim* (Jerusalem, 1983), pp. 515–28 (in Hebrew); *idem*, "The Arabic of the Samaritans," in

Since the general rules of the grammar and syntax of *MA* are to be found in Blau's *Grammar*, and specific guidelines for *SA* have been laid out by Stenhouse, there is no need to delve further into this matter, and I will refer here briefly to the special orthography, language and style of the *Continuatio*.

The Paris manuscript bears some special orthographic characteristics. In addition to the well-known practice according to which letters of identical skeletal forms bear additional differentiating marks (thus ط, س and ر are usually marked by a small hacek above the letter in order to confirm that ط, ش or ز are not meant), letters are marked by a small form of the letter above or beneath them in order to denote the difference; thus, ع and ح have the same letter written above themselves in a smaller form to confirm that غ and ج or خ are not meant. The letter و often carries, arbitrarily it seems, a *sukūn* above it, while the conjunction و often carries a *damma* above it, perhaps denoting its pronunciation. In addition, ح, ص and the combination لا all bear a *shadda* quite consistently. Other signs that resemble *fatha* and *kasra* seem to be mostly ornamental rather than functional, and fill up the spaces between the lines. Line endings are sometimes marked by one of two signs that seem to have no difference between them apart from the fact that one fills up more space than the other; in cases where the last word reaches the end of the line, there are no such signs at all.

As for language and style, Vilmar already observed that the language of the *Continuatio* is unmistakably different from the "first section" of Abū l-Faṭḥ, which extends to the time of Muḥammad.⁹⁸ While the first section is written in a clear and concise manner and strives to imitate "Classical Arabic" in style, the *Continuatio* is composed much more carelessly; its style is quite common, and the vernacular language is dominant, making it a much more difficult text for the reader.

The linguistic imprecision of the author is also expressed in the inconsistency of the terminology used. The author does not seem to be very familiar with the administrative or military hierarchy of the Muslim authorities. The term *muqaddam* often bears the meaning of an officer or commander (of various ranks, so it seems) representing the Muslim authorities, yet it is also used sometimes in reference to leaders of the Samaritan community.⁹⁹ The

Crown and Davey, eds., *Essays in Honour of G.D. Sirdenier*, pp. 551–75.

⁹⁸Vilmar, intro., lxxvi, xcvi; see also Stenhouse, "Samaritan Arabic," p. 587.

⁹⁹See below, pp. 86, 102. The term *muqaddam* with reference to the leaders of the

exact meaning of the term *za'im* is also unclear. It appears at times as a local authority¹⁰⁰ and at others as a higher authority.¹⁰¹ The Samaritan high priest is called interchangeably *ra'is* and *imām*; this may imply, however, the use of multiple sources by the author, each deploying different terminology.

It should be noted that the *Continuatio*, like other compositions written in *SA*, bears some special usages in Arabic. Thus the Hebrew word נטמא ("to become impure") is transferred into Arabic as *taṭamma'a*; the word *dājin* is equivalent to the Hebrew דגן ("cereals");¹⁰² the very unusual use of *shām* for "north,"¹⁰³ the use of *būq* to denote the *shōfar* (a horn used for liturgical purposes)¹⁰⁴ and others. Also characteristic is the adoption of typical Muslim terminology, such as *qibla* to denote "south" (obviously the Muslim direction of prayer),¹⁰⁵ *muftī* for a Samaritan expounder of law,¹⁰⁶ or *imām* to denote the Samaritan high priest. This phenomenon testifies to the extent of the process of Arabization among the Samaritans at an early date. Our text might therefore cast doubt on the accuracy of the claim presented in the *Tōlīdah* that Samaritans started writing in Arabic only in the twelfth century; or perhaps this claim may refer to the use of Arabic script, which replaced the Samaritan script in use by Samaritans formerly when writing in the Arabic language.¹⁰⁷

Another characteristic of the Paris manuscript is its occasional use of Samaritan script.¹⁰⁸ Throughout the text the names of the Samaritan high

community was also in use by the Arabic-speaking Jewish community. See S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, II (Berkeley, 1971), pp. 33, 35, *passim*.

¹⁰⁰See below, pp. 80, 82.

¹⁰¹See below, p. 85.

¹⁰²For *taṭamma'a*, see Ms. p. 218:5, = trans. p. 67 n. 164; Ms. p. 249:10, = trans. p. 101 n. 492. For *dājin*, see Ms. p. 216:5, = trans. p. 65 n. 154. This usage also appears in the Hebrew–Aramaic–Arabic dictionary of biblical words, written around the eleventh century and published by Z. Ben Hayyim, *The Literary and Oral Tradition of Hebrew and Aramaic amongst the Samaritans* (Jerusalem, 1961), II, 446 (in Hebrew).

¹⁰³Ms. p. 206:7, = trans. p. 52. Cf. Ben Hayyim, II, 576.

¹⁰⁴Ms. p. 243:8, = trans. p. 94. Cf. Ben Hayyim, II, 598.

¹⁰⁵See below, Ms. p. 236:2, = trans. p. 87 n. 341; also Stenhouse, trans., nn. 3, 210, 221.

¹⁰⁶See below, Ms. p. 238:3, = trans. p. 89.

¹⁰⁷See B.Z. Kedar, "The Frankish Period," in Crown, *Samaritans*, p. 89, referring to the *Tōlīdah*; M.A. Neubauer, *Chronique Samaritaine* (Paris, 1873), pp. 26, 65 (trans.); E.N. Adler and M. Seligsohn, "Une nouvelle chronique samaritaine," *REJ* 45 (1902), pp. 95–96; J. Bowman, *Transcript of the Original Text of the Samaritan Chronicle Tolidah* (Leeds, 1957), p. 23a–b.

¹⁰⁸In the present translation, words written in Samaritan script are in sans serif type.

priests, as well as other important figures (such as Šarmaša) or places (Mt. Gerizim) are often written in Samaritan script, as is the name Muḥammad (not only the Prophet). The special treatment of the latter name seems to denote its special status in the eyes of the Samaritans; this fits in well with the positive image of the Prophet exhibited in the *Continuatio*.¹⁰⁹ In other cases words quoted in Hebrew or in Samaritan Aramaic appear in the text in Samaritan characters, e.g. **הישמעאלים** (“the letter,” Ms. p. 205:1), **הנערים** (“the Ishmaelites,” *ibid.*), **הגוים** (“the boys,” Ms. p. 219:6), **הגוים** (“the Gentiles,” Ms. p. 227:4). This is not especially surprising in light of the fact mentioned already, that Arabic was first written by the Samaritans in Samaritan characters before they adopted the Arabic script, and Samaritan characters were still being used by the Samaritans for liturgical purposes (as they still are today). This may well explain some of the errors in personal and place names mentioned above.

There are, however, several cases in which the use of Samaritan script is not so easily explained. In these cases, whole sentences of Arabic are suddenly written in Samaritan characters for no apparent reason. Such is the case on Ms. p. 242, where several of al-Mutawakkil’s restrictions on the *dhimmīs* are suddenly written in Samaritan script, the change actually beginning and ending in the middle of the sentence. It might be claimed that fear of the Muslims may have been the cause of this, were it not for the fact that the bulk of the restrictions is enumerated on the preceding page in Arabic characters. An identical case appears on the following page (Ms. p. 243), where the text relates a prohibition against the Samaritans’ going up to Mt. Gerizim and raising their voices in prayer. The fact that several days later they went up to the mountain and raised their voices without disturbance is, however, related in Arabic characters. On Ms. p. 250, the characters again switch from Arabic to Samaritan in the middle of a sentence when suspicion of murder falls upon the Samaritans and their leaders are arrested; the Samaritans are forced to pay an apparently enormous sum—15,000 *dīnārs*—in order to free them. On the following page (Ms. p. 255) some of the restrictions imposed by Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn appear in Samaritan characters, while others appear in Arabic script. It may be that special restrictions or punishments imposed especially on the Samaritans, as opposed to general restrictions that included all *dhimmīs*, were concealed in Samaritan script so that such “ideas” would

¹⁰⁹See below, p. 53.

not reach the eyes of those who might be inspired to enforce them. It may also be that in certain cases the sources used by the author of the *Continuatio* were themselves written in Samaritan script, and thus may have sometimes confused the author as he copied from them.

Sources and Relationship to Other Samaritan Chronicles

When referring to the nature of the so-called *additamenta*, Vilmar emphasized that these additions must have their origin in very early sources.¹¹⁰ Indeed, as already demonstrated above, the source or sources employed in the *Continuatio* were, no doubt, local materials produced in the area of Nablus itself by eyewitnesses to the events in some cases, and actual participants in others. This would lead us to the simple and obvious conclusion that the *Continuatio* is an unedited and uncontaminated, direct, first-hand account of the events described in the text.

Yet even if we accept Vilmar’s claim, as indeed we do, that Abū l-Faṭḥ’s original text ended with the advent of Muḥammad, we are still left with a text describing a period of over 300 years, from Muḥammad until the time of al-Rāḍī. So long a period obviously cannot be attributed to a single author; we thus still have to contend with the question of the sources of the *Continuatio*. It follows that most probably the *Continuatio* was written by several authors who each wrote first-hand accounts of the events in his own day. Whether these accounts were then edited by one hand, or written one after the other and then strung together in the conventional style of a chronicle, is difficult to determine.

As to the first part of the text extending to the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd, for which there are several parallel Mss., there are a number of indications that may point to the conclusion that the first part of the *Continuatio* was based on a more authentic text, or alternatively, that it tended not to intervene or edit the text as much, and thus retained a more original text. The Paris manuscript distinguishes quite clearly, as has been mentioned above, between the first part, Abū l-Faṭḥ’s *Kitāb al-ta’rīkh*, and the second part, the *Continuatio*. At the end of Abū l-Faṭḥ’s chronicle the list of high priests is given, after which there is a colophon (Ms. p. 202). However, the *Continuatio*, which begins on p. 203 of the Paris Ms., opens with the story describing the recognition of Muḥammad by the three astrologers, a story already told at the end of Abū l-Faṭḥ’s text (Paris Ms., pp. 194–202, and parallel Mss.

¹¹⁰See above, p. 10 n. 33.

of Abū l-Faṭḥ). Not only is there such a repetition in the same manuscript, but when the Abū l-Faṭḥ version of the story is compared to the *Continuatio* (Ms. pp. 203–207), it becomes obvious that although they present the same text, there are essential differences between them. Although it is immediately evident that the language and style of the Abū l-Faṭḥ version are closer to *CA* and superior to that of the *Continuatio*, which uses a much more vulgar and vernacular language, the *Continuatio* seems to bear the better and more reliable text. The most obvious example is the text on Ms. p. 204:3 of the *Continuatio*, which reads: أنت تدين بدين وشريعته (“you will be the one to profess [the Muslim] faith and law”); this version appears solely on p. 204 of the Paris Ms., while all the other manuscripts of the Abū l-Faṭḥ version, including the first version of this story appearing on pp. 197–202 of the Paris Ms.,¹¹¹ carry the corrupt and almost meaningless: أنت تدين بدين وسيعه (trans. by Stenhouse as: “you have a magnanimous religion”¹¹²). The *Continuatio* also preserves a whole section describing the conquest of Caesarea, which is completely missing in the Abū l-Faṭḥ version and appears to be an important and completely integral part of the text.¹¹³ Another point that may indicate the superiority of the text used in the *Continuatio* is the fact that it states on Ms. p. 203 that the Christian astrologer, named in the Abū l-Faṭḥ version and later on in the *Continuatio* as ‘Abd al-Salām, was called ‘Abd Allāh; this fits in very well if he is indeed to be identified with ‘Abd Allāh ibn Salām.¹¹⁴ The *Continuatio* is also the only source to add that he was originally from Lydda.

If we were to assume that the Abū l-Faṭḥ version and the *Continuatio* draw on the same source, then the former seems to have recast and refined the text (perhaps omitting and corrupting some material), while the latter seems to have been unedited, and preserves, in that sense, a better and more accurate text. It seems quite plausible that the *Continuatio* relied upon sources mentioned in the list of sources used by Abū l-Faṭḥ and cited by him at the beginning of his composition.¹¹⁵ The following materials are listed:

¹¹¹See Vilmar, p. 173.

¹¹²Stenhouse, trans., p. 244.

¹¹³See Vilmar, pp. 179–80.

¹¹⁴See below, p. 46 nn. 1, 5.

¹¹⁵Vilmar, p. 5. For a comprehensive review of Samaritan chronicles and the state of research in the field, see P. Stenhouse, “Samaritan Chronicles,” in Crown, *Samaritans*, pp. 218–65.

1. Two books concerning the *Allotment of Regions* (قطع البلدى, sic!), unknown compositions referring, no doubt, to the division of the land during the period of the Israelite settlement.¹¹⁶
2. *The Book of Joshua and Others* (سفر يهوشع وغيره), written in Arabic.
3. *The Catena* (السلسلة المنقولة), the list of high priests, which was expanded into the *Tōlīdah* (Genealogy) in the middle of the twelfth century, and was continued further in the fourteenth century.¹¹⁷
4. “Three defective histories” (i.e. histories with some of their pages missing: ثلاث توارىخ مخرومة); and “quires” (كراسة or كراس).

Of these listed sources, we are familiar with the *Book of Joshua* (in Hebrew and in Arabic versions); and with the *Catena* and the *Tōlīdah*. Although this last source¹¹⁸ contains some information concerning the early Muslim period, it is scant and faulty and could in no way have served as the source for the *Continuatio*. Another Samaritan chronicle (not included in Abū l-Faṭḥ’s list) that contains information relevant to the period under discussion is the so-called *New Chronicle* or *Chronicle Adler*.¹¹⁹ It too is quite confused and poor in evidence. Moreover, Abū l-Faṭḥ’s *Kitāb al-ta’rīkh* seems to serve as one of his sources; it cannot, therefore, be considered as a source of the *Continuatio*.¹²⁰

We are therefore left with two sources mentioned by Abū l-Faṭḥ that may have served as the source of the *Continuatio*: the “three defective histories” and the “quires.” The former were written in Hebrew script and language (perhaps meaning Samaritan Aramaic?), which he received according to his testimony from “the house of the headship” (*dār al-riyāsa*) in Damascus;¹²¹

¹¹⁶See Stenhouse, “Samaritan Chronicles,” pp. 241–42.

¹¹⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 218–19.

¹¹⁸Neubauer, *Chronique Samaritaine*, pp. 23–24; Bowman, *Transcript*, pp. 20a–21b.

¹¹⁹See E. Adler and M. Seligsohn, “Une nouvelle chronique samaritaine,” *REJ* 44 (1902), pp. 188–222; 45 (1902), pp. 70–98, 160, 223–54; 46 (1903), pp. 123–46; Stenhouse, “Samaritan Chronicles,” p. 222.

¹²⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 228–30.

¹²¹Vilmar, p. 5. This could hardly be “the seat of Government in Damascus,” as translated by Stenhouse (trans., p. 4), and is much more likely to be the centre of the Samaritan community in Damascus, as he himself notes elsewhere (see “Samaritan Chronicles,” p. 248 and n. 149).

nothing is known about the latter. However, it is plausible that these "histories and quires" included material recorded at different periods by the Samaritan community; it may well be that such histories were written in chronicle form: i.e. events were recorded in the order of their occurrence in proximity to the events, by members of the community who were appointed to the task.

This form of *chronographia* fits in well with the use of the first person plural already emphasized above. Certain references in the text itself also point in this direction: thus the author says: "We did not set down records of their (i.e. the Muslims') past, nor that of the kings of the land during this period, because we were preoccupied with our own affairs. . . ." ¹²² This seems to imply that the chronicle was written at the time of the events, and its writing was therefore itself influenced by prevailing circumstances; if there had simply been no information concerning these matters in the sources, a later editor or copyist would have had no way of knowing that there was anything missing at this point or why it was missing. The author actually feels that he has to apologize for his lack of dedication to his task. He then goes on to say: "...and there was no one left who had the zeal, or was interested in taking it upon himself, except a few of the schools of all the Muslims." This discloses another interesting point: Samaritan chroniclers were familiar with some forms of Muslim historiography. This may well be, at least partially, the source of some of the information concerning Muslim history that was incorporated quite generously into the chronicle. Another source, no doubt, was news that travelled by word of mouth. This is made evident by the corruption of toponyms and personal names. ¹²³

In conclusion it seems, therefore, that the *Continuatio* was based upon information contained in the histories or quires mentioned by Abū l-Faṭḥ. These were actually parts of a chronicle or chronicles written by Samaritans in Nablus or its surroundings close to the time in which the events occurred. Sometimes they themselves witnessed the events described, while at other times they received information from other Samaritans, or in certain cases probably from non-Samaritan informants who passed by and informed them of events in other places in Palestine and Syria. In addition, they had access to both oral and written information concerning events in the Muslim empire. The chronicle was thus made up of a series of descriptions and notes, each

¹²²See below, p. 90.

¹²³See above, p. 18.

pertaining to a certain time and situation. In contrast to Abū l-Faṭḥ, these lists do not seem to have been edited at all, since there are repetitions and lacunae, as well as references that are sometimes obscure or ambiguous, as if the author was writing a "journal" rather than an organized historical tract. ¹²⁴

The Historical Contribution of the *Continuatio*

The absence of a chronicle or any other composition of historical character that centres specifically upon the history of Palestine during the early Muslim period makes the *Continuatio* an especially important document. It is undoubtedly Samaritano-centric, but nevertheless provides us with ample information about events and developments in Palestine during the period. In contrast to other sources of the same period, such as Christian hagiographical and theological compositions, which mention political and military events only in passing, the *Continuatio* places the historical events at centre stage. Here it may be worthwhile to survey at least some of the most prominent and outstanding contributions of the *Continuatio* to our knowledge of the period.

As I have already mentioned, the section describing the Arab conquest, culminating in the capture of Caesarea, is of special importance. ¹²⁵ This description of the conquest clearly implies that although the Samaritans living along the coast felt threatened to such an extent that they decided to flee along with the Byzantines to Byzantium, ¹²⁶ the Samaritan inhabitants of the inland areas did not feel as imperilled; not only did they remain in their places, but the Samaritan high priest also took it upon himself to guard all their belongings and possessions (which were enormous, according to the text) until the danger had passed and they could return ("and they have not returned to this day"). This description supplies us with an interesting view of events. It seems that it was the Byzantine *poleis* centred along the coast-

¹²⁴On the subject of "layered chronicles," see L.I. Conrad, "Syriac Perspectives on Bilād al-Shām during the 'Abbāsid Period," in M.A. Bakhit, ed., *Bilād al-Shām During the 'Abbāsid Period—Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference on the History of Bilād al-Shām* (Amman, 1991), pp. 1-44, esp. pp. 18-26.

¹²⁵See below, pp. 50-53.

¹²⁶A remarkable fact in itself, since there was great tension and animosity between Samaritans and Byzantines in Palestine; this was a result of the Samaritan revolts of the 5th-6th centuries that caused great havoc in Palestine and resulted in the cruel humiliation of the Samaritans by the Byzantines and in extreme anti-Samaritan legislation. See A.D. Crown, "The Byzantine and Moslem Period", in Crown, *Samaritans*, pp. 68-77.

line,¹²⁷ and especially Caesarea the Metropolis, as our text clearly states, that offered resistance to the invaders and thus placed their inhabitants in danger, while the inhabitants of the inland area felt comparatively secure. This fits well with our growing realisation that the Muslim conquest of Palestine was essentially non-violent and that many of the cities surrendered in return for a guarantee of security for themselves and their possessions and a promise of religious freedom, all of which were included in the *amān* (a pledge of protection of life and property) written and granted to each city specifically.¹²⁸

¹²⁷The coastal cities were indeed abandoned by their inhabitants and resettled by the Muslims, who introduced a non-Arab mostly Persian population. See A. El'ad, "The Coastal Cities of Palestine during the Early Middle Ages," *The Jerusalem Cathedra* 2 (1982), pp. 146–67, esp. pp. 146–51.

¹²⁸On the nature of the conquest, see F.M. Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests* (Princeton, 1981), pp. 152–53. A detailed review of the *amāns* given to different cities is found in D.R. Hill, *The Termination of Hostilities in the Early Arab Conquests* (London, 1971); see also A. Noth's discussion in his book *The Early Arabic Historical Tradition: a Source-Critical Study* (Princeton, 1994), pp. 146–67, where he demonstrates that "the summons to Islam (*da'wa*)" included the option of *amān* before the final option of fighting; W. al-Qāḍī, "Madkhal ilā dirāsāt 'uhūd al-ṣulḥ al-islāmīya zaman al-futūḥ," in M.'A. al-Bakhit and I. 'Abbās, eds., *Proceedings of the Second Symposium on the History of Bilād al-Sham During the Early Islamic Period up to 40 A.H./640 A.D.* (Amman, 1987), II, 193–269; R. Schick, *The Christian Communities of Palestine from Byzantine to Islamic Rule* (Princeton, 1995), pp. 68–90, esp. pp. 77–84, 222–24. To these should be added the results of numerous archaeological excavations made in recent years. These investigations reveal no sign of any traumatic break or crisis in the seventh century. See, for example, the cases of Apollonia (Arsūf) in I. Roll and E. Ayalon, *Apollonia and Southern Sharon* (Tel-Aviv, 1989), pp. 67–81, esp. 78–81; Tiberias in Y. Hirschfeld and G. Foerster, "Tiberias," in E. Stern, ed., *The New Encyclopedia of Archeological Excavations in the Holy Land* (Jerusalem, 1993), IV, 1464–73; Beth-Shean in Y. Tsafir and G. Foerster, "From Scythopolis to Baysān—Changing Concepts of Urbanism," in G.R.D. King and A. Cameron, eds., *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East, II: Land Use and Settlement Patterns* (Princeton, 1994), pp. 95–115, esp. pp. 111–15, also their article "Urbanism at Scythopolis–Bet Shean in the Fourth to Seventh Centuries," *DOP* 51 (1997), pp. 85–146; Jerusalem in R. Arav, L. Di Segni, and A. Kloner, "An Eighth-Century Monastery near Jerusalem," *LA* 40 (1990), pp. 313–20. The same applies to numerous sites excavated in Transjordan in the past decade; for a general survey see H.I. MacAdam, "Settlements and Settlement Patterns in Northern and Central Transjordan, ca. 550–750," in King and Cameron, eds., *Land Use and Settlement Patterns*, pp. 49–94, esp. pp. 91–92. See also M. Piccirillo, *Chiese e mosaici di Madaba* (Jerusalem, 1989); J.P. Humbert and A. Desreumaux, "Huit campagnes de fouilles au Khirbet es-Samra (1981–1989)," *RB* 97 (1990), pp. 252–69; M. Piccirillo, "Le iscrizioni di Um er-Rasas–Kastron Mefaa in Giordania I (1986–1987)," *ADAJ* 30 (1986), pp. 341–51; M. Piccirillo, "Le chiese di Quweismeh

The version given here concerning the manner in which Caesarea was captured is unfamiliar and especially interesting.¹²⁹ The author describes the discovery of a small unknown postern gate facing the sea (with which, he adds, the Muslims were not acquainted), the penetration of the city through this postern, and the massacre in the lower market, which lasted a full day before it spread into the upper market.¹³⁰ The author seems to have been familiar with the layout of the Byzantine city, and was well informed about the story of its conquest.

His positive evaluation concerning both conditions in Palestine during the Umayyad period and the positive attitude of these rulers towards the local population seems to fit well with the existing historical and archaeological evidence about Palestine under Umayyad rule.¹³¹ The Umayyads, according to the *Continuatio*, "ruled according to what he (i.e. Muḥammad) had enjoined upon them; they did no more or less, and did not harm anyone".¹³²

Of special interest, therefore, is the concept of a sharp and categorical change in the conditions of the *dhimmīs* and in the attitude towards them with the ascendancy of the 'Abbāsids to power. The writer states unequivocally

Amman," *LA* 34 (1984), pp. 329–40; *idem*, "Una chiesa nell'Wadi 'Ayoum Mousa ai piedi del Monte Nebo," *LA* 34 (1984), pp. 307–18. See also the following note about Caesarea.

¹²⁹For a survey of the sources concerning the capture of Caesarea, see M. Gil, *History of Palestine, 634–1099* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 59–60. See also *ibid.*, n. 61, which relates to Noth's observation, concerning the uniformity in the pattern of conquest of cities found in the Muslim sources. The description in our text is completely non-stereotypical! It should be emphasized that although all of the sources agree that the siege and the fighting over Caesarea were long and difficult, the city seems to have been left intact after the conquest, since recent excavations in the city have discovered no trace of any break or catastrophe such as destruction or fire; see K. Holum, "Archeological Evidence for the Fall of Caesarea," *BASOR* 286 (1992), pp. 73–85.

¹³⁰Concerning the city plan reflected here, see below, pp. 52–53 n. 45.

¹³¹See Schick, *Christian Communities of Palestine*, pp. 68–90, esp. pp. 77–84; Donner, *Conquests*, esp. pp. 152–53; Hill, *Termination of Hostilities*, pp. 59–84; M. Sharon, "The Cities of the Holy Land under Islamic Rule," *Cathedra* 40 (1986), pp. 83–120 (in Hebrew).

On the Muslim taxation policy of the *ahl al-dhimma* see M.J. Kister, "The Social and Political Implications of Three Traditions in the *Kitāb al-Kharāj* of Yahyā b. Ādam," *JESHO* 3 (1960), pp. 326–34; *idem*, "An Yadin (Qur'ān IX/29)," *Arabica* 11 (1964), pp. 272–78. The Muslim sources preserve traditions relating that one of the main reasons for the dismissal of the famous commander Khālīd ibn al-Walīd by 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb was disagreement over the treatment of the local population. 'Umar insisted that the liberty and property of the local inhabitants be guarded and preserved. See Gil, *History of Palestine*, pp. 48–50.

¹³²See below, p. 53.

cally that "the kingdom of Banū l-ʿAbbās was a strong and mighty kingdom. They doubled the tax upon the land (*kharāj*) and raised the poll tax (*jāliya*) and made its burden heavier; they levied *waşriya*¹³³ from all the provinces and afflicted the people with it".¹³⁴ According to the description presented here, the change of government in Baghdad was felt immediately and strongly in the provinces.

This is well demonstrated by the following description of the miseries and injustices brought upon the *dhimmīs*, and the Samaritans in particular, by ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ibn Ibrāhīm (who according to the text was called Abū Shindī), the governor of Palestine appointed by the caliph al-Manşūr. This Abū Shindī did not hesitate to incite Samaritans and Christians against one another in order to impose heavy penalties that were, of course, collected by him. The detailed evidence concerning his rule is corroborated by a tradition preserved by the Muslim historian Ibn ʿAsākir stating that ʿAbd al-Wahhāb left Palestine looking like "a plucked pigeon."¹³⁵

A succession of calamities that fell upon Palestine towards the end of the eighth century completes this dire image of the history of Palestine at this time. This period, which began with the horrendous earthquake of 748–49¹³⁶ and continued with the worsening conditions brought on by the rise of the ʿAbbāsids to power, ended, according to our text, with a series of calamities, including a severe attack of locusts, the outbreak of a bitter *fitna* between the Qays and Yaman factions in Palestine (known as the "War of the Watermelon") that brought ruin upon large parts of the country, a drought followed by a terrible famine, and a devastating plague.¹³⁷ Only in our text is this succession of events, whose details are indeed corroborated separately by other sources, described in a full and comprehensive account, thus giving us a clear view of the comparatively rapid decline of Palestine during the second half of the eighth century.

The text goes on to present an interesting account of the strife and havoc wreaked in Palestine as a result of the dissension that broke out after Hārūn

¹³³For this unclear term, see below, p. 57 n. 88.

¹³⁴See below, pp. 57–58.

¹³⁵Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq*, facsimile ed. (Amman, 1989), X, 592; = Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq*, ed. Rūḥiya al-Naḥḥās *et al.* (Damascus, 1404–1409/1984–89), XV, 272.

¹³⁶See below, p. 56; see n. 77 for other sources and bibliography concerning this earthquake.

¹³⁷See below, pp. 62–67 and notes.

al-Rashīd's death between the supporters of al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn. It appears that the strife was not limited to the important centres, but spread throughout the empire to a distant and marginal province such as Palestine, bringing with it much killing and looting and awakening great internal tension and strife between the local tribal elements.¹³⁸ These local skirmishes among different Muslim elements for control and power were the cause of great calamities for the local non-Muslim population. Besides the immediate horrendous effects of looting, killing and captivity, the economy of the land was greatly damaged, prices rose and people suffered from famine, gradually lost their property, and lived in constant fear. The state of affairs was so fragile and unstable that although a good and supportive local governor brought relief, this was only temporary, and peace and security were immediately shattered when he was killed by local Muslims.¹³⁹ There was dissension and opposition to al-Ma'mūn in Palestine throughout his reign, and our text describes numerous cases of resistance and rebellions, which were periodically quelled by the caliph's forces only to be rekindled after their departure. Thus when Khālīd ibn Yazīd passed through Palestine on his way to Egypt with a large army, all the rebels hid in great fear, only to emerge again after he was gone to harry and harm the local non-Muslim population and to bring devastation upon the people.¹⁴⁰ ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir, who was appointed by al-Ma'mūn to rule the western part of the empire, and another later governor (probably Abū Ishāq ibn Hārūn al-Rashīd, the future caliph al-Mu'taṣim) seem to have succeeded in establishing some law and order, only for it to be disrupted immediately upon their departure when another rebel by the name of Ibn Firāsa rose and oppressed the local population without hindrance.¹⁴¹ The struggle culminated when al-Ma'mūn himself, later joined by his brother al-Mu'taṣim, came to Palestine in order to face the rebels and fight them on his way to Egypt sometime around January 832.

The fact that al-Ma'mūn came to Palestine accompanied by his brother, the future caliph al-Mu'taṣim, and visited Jerusalem on this occasion, is only recorded one place else to the best of my knowledge; yet it is very well supported by the inscriptions appearing on the copper plates above the eastern and northern entrances of the Dome of the Rock. These bear al-Ma'mūn's name and the date Rabīʿ II 216 (May–June 831), just before

¹³⁸See below, pp. 69–70.

¹³⁹See below, pp. 71–72.

¹⁴⁰See below, pp. 74–75.

¹⁴¹See below, p. 77.

al-Ma'mūn must have left for Egypt. This may very well also have been the occasion when he replaced 'Abd al-Malik's name with his own in the dating inscription in the mosaic in the Dome of the Rock.¹⁴²

Also otherwise unknown is the fact that he faced strong resistance in Palestine; he seems to have succeeded finally in subduing the rebels and in destroying their strongholds, and appointed governors on his behalf. This success had its drawbacks, as these governors did not always treat the local population very favourably.¹⁴³ Another otherwise unattested matter mentioned in the text is al-Ma'mūn's building of "very strong forts" when he returned to Damascus from Egypt in the autumn of 832.¹⁴⁴

The new order did not last long, since dissension broke out again with the rise of al-Mu'taṣim to power after the death of al-Ma'mūn (9 August 833). As before, the consequences of these outbreaks for the local population were ruinous and included looting and burning. We are informed that two commanders were sent by the caliph to quell this revolt.¹⁴⁵ All of this was once again followed by oppressive tyranny on the part of the local governors, who according to the text "oppressed the Muslims more than they oppressed the Samaritans," a remark indicating that the tyranny was not always motivated by religious zeal.¹⁴⁶

Here the text supplies information concerning local Samaritan affairs, including disruption of the structure of leadership within the Samaritan community when the system of the *ḥakākima* established by the great Samaritan leader Baba Rabbah (second or third century CE) was annulled, leaving the community, in the author's opinion, without a competent judicial system. This revision was carried out by the *ra'īs* Pinḥas. The *ra'īs* who followed him, Dartā, rebuilt the synagogue in Nablus that had been burnt down, presumably during one of the rebel raids.¹⁴⁷

The *Continuatio* next describes in detail the rebellion of Abū Ḥarb al-Mubārqa' al-Yamanī, which started at the end of al-Mu'taṣim's reign (r. 218–27/833–42) and continued in the days of al-Wāthiq (r. 227–32/842–47), lasting about nine years. This rebellion, which is widely described in the Muslim sources, is related here in detail from a completely different point

¹⁴²See below, p. 77 n. 257.

¹⁴³See below, pp. 77–80 and notes thereto.

¹⁴⁴See below, p. 79.

¹⁴⁵See below, pp. 80–81, 82.

¹⁴⁶See below, p. 83.

¹⁴⁷See below, p. 83.

of view. While the author of our text, unlike the Muslim sources, is not interested or indeed familiar with the reasons for this rebellion or with the factions that took part in it, he follows the moves of Abū Ḥarb closely, describing how at first the governor of Ramla tried to subdue his rebellion at a local level, "but could not master him." The Samaritans of Nablus take the governor's side, the commander appointed in Nablus by the governor flees back to Ramla, and Abū Ḥarb feels free to roam about Nablus and its villages, exacting money and plundering. When another attempt to crush him finally fails, the inhabitants of Nablus flee, leaving their possessions behind. As a result, Abū Ḥarb enters the city, looting, burning and plundering the city for seventeen days. The head of the Samaritan community (*ra'īs*), who had not left the city, was subsequently killed. According to the text, Abū Ḥarb roamed around the country for quite a long time, wreaking havoc and causing panic and destruction; the text mentions the whole area of Samaria up to Baysān (Beth Shean), and all the way to Ramla. We may presume that his influence spread much further than the area mentioned in our text, in which the Samaritan population was concentrated. Abū Ḥarb certainly does not seem to have been a messianic Sufyānī¹⁴⁸ in the eyes of the local non-Muslim population, though he seemed to play such a role at least in the eyes of some of the Muslim rebels who joined him.¹⁴⁹ All of these occurrences took place at a local level, before the arrival of Rajā' ibn Ayyūb al-Ḥiḍārī, who was finally sent with a great army to face him. The author knows that on his way to Palestine Rajā' subdued the leader of the rebels in Damascus, Ibn Bayhas, and describes in detail the battle that took place in the area of 'Atīl in which Abū Ḥarb was finally defeated. We thus gain here a close look at a rebellion that is otherwise described succinctly and briefly by Muslim historians located hundreds of miles away and kept informed only by messages and messengers from the governors and military commanders of the caliphate.¹⁵⁰

After the suppression of Abū Ḥarb's rebellion another problem arose: the local rulers appointed by the caliph fell to extorting the local population, a habit to which the caliph al-Wāthiq finally put an end. Two other interesting reports relate to the days of this caliph. The first informs us that al-Wāthiq prohibited the Christians from striking the *nāqūs*, the wooden clapper used

¹⁴⁸On this subject see W. Madelung, "The Sufyānī between Tradition and History," *SI* 63 (1984), pp. 5–58.

¹⁴⁹See Gil, *History of Palestine*, pp. 295–96.

¹⁵⁰See below, pp. 84–89.

for calling to prayer. This report, which to my knowledge has no parallels in other sources, indicates that such restrictions upon the *dhimmīs* were indeed not only issued, but also applied already in the first half of the ninth century, and in the provinces of the Muslim empire as well as at the centre. The other report cited here seems quite strange and says literally that “the Jews prevented the Muslims from worshipping, even from afar.” It seems that this should definitely be turned around and read as: “the Muslims prevented the Jews from worshipping, even from afar,” since the first statement is in no way possible.¹⁵¹ This probably refers to the fact that Jews were no longer allowed to worship in the area of the Temple Mount, even from afar; we know that the Jews were accustomed to worshipping on and around the ruined Temple Mount already in the Byzantine period, and that the Byzantines applied restrictions in this matter and levied considerable sums from the Jews in return for permission to worship and lament in the area of the Temple Mount on the day of the Temple’s destruction, the ninth of Āb.¹⁵²

The report concerning restrictions imposed upon the *dhimmīs* during the days of the caliph al-Mutawakkil are very detailed and of considerable significance. Although the decrees issued by al-Mutawakkil are well known, and were reported in detail by the Muslim chroniclers, there is little evidence concerning their application in the major centres;¹⁵³ information regarding peripheral areas is practically non-existent. Our text confirms unequivocally that not only were *dhimmīs* in distant and marginal provinces like Palestine and Jordan familiar in detail with these decrees, but also that the restrictions were put into practice quite strictly. This is well demonstrated by practical consequences related in the text, such as the story of the image that the *dhimmīs* had to attach to their doorpost.¹⁵⁴ The Samaritans of Palestine went to considerable trouble in order to circumvent this decree,

¹⁵¹See below, p. 90 and n. 383.

¹⁵²See *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, in P. Geyer and O. Cuntz, eds., *Itineraria Hierosolymitana*, in *CCSL* 175 (Turnhout, 1965), 591.4–6, p. 16; Hieronymus, *Commentarium in Sophoniam*, in *CCSL* 76 (Turnhout, 1969), 1.15, p. 673; *The History of Barsauma of Nisibis*, in F. Nau, “Résumé de monographies syriaques,” *ROC* 9 (1914), p. 119. For evidence of Jewish worship in the area of the Western Wall during the early Muslim period, see Gil, *History of Palestine*, pp. 607–608.

¹⁵³For Egypt see Saʿīd ibn Baṭrīq, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. L. Cheikho (Leipzig, 1906; *CSCO*, *Scr. arabici*, Ser. iii, IV.2), p. 63; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, ed. and trans. E.A.W. Budge (Oxford, 1932), I, 141.

¹⁵⁴See above, pp. 13–14.

which in their eyes was equivalent to idol worship; still, they had to settle for a compromise—use of an image of a candelabrum. The Samaritans of Jund al-Urdunn were granted not even this concession from their governor, and had to accept the decree in full. Another example of the strict execution of the decrees is the levelling of the grave of the Samaritan head Nethanʿel because it resembled a Muslim grave. It may be presumed that these decrees were imposed in an equal measure of severity upon all the other *dhimmīs* in Palestine as well.¹⁵⁵

Other important events mentioned during the days of al-Mutawakkil are an earthquake that took place during the Feast of Tabernacles, probably in 853,¹⁵⁶ another major quarrel with the Dositheans, ending in their excommunication by the *raʾīs*,¹⁵⁷ and finally a very interesting report about a great rise in prices that brought about a terrible famine and led to the conversion of many Samaritan families to Islam, since conversion exempted them from payment of the *jizya*, a heavy financial burden especially at such times. This report, as well as several other references to similar events concerning mass Islamization in Palestine during the early Muslim period, are, as far as I know, unique.¹⁵⁸ Although we know of individuals who left their religion and accepted Islam for personal reasons,¹⁵⁹ there is no other testimony that actually declares that families and groups accepted Islam *bloc* due to worsening economic conditions. The author of the text here laments openly: “How many left their faith as a result of the terrible rise in prices and because they were exhausted by the *jizya*! Many sons and families who left the faith were lost!”¹⁶⁰ Moreover, it is reported that al-Mutawakkil actually increased the *jizya*. The text also reports that al-Mutawakkil ordered a survey, the purpose of which was the reevaluation of property and resources. This may well be the survey carried out by al-Mutawakkil in 240/854–55, which is mentioned

¹⁵⁵See below, pp. 91–94.

¹⁵⁶See below, p. 94.

¹⁵⁷See below, p. 94.

¹⁵⁸See my article on the subject of conversion to Islam among Samaritans, “New Evidence Relating to the Process of Islamization in Palestine in the Early Muslim Period: the Case of Samaria,” *JESHO* 43 (2000), 258–76.

¹⁵⁹See M. Levy-Rubin, “Arabization versus Islamization in the Palestinian Melkite Community during the Early Muslim Period,” in A. Kofsky and G. Stroumsa, eds., *Sharing the Sacred: Religious Contacts and Conflicts in the Holy Land, First to Fifteenth Century C.E.* (Jerusalem, 1998), pp. 149–62.

¹⁶⁰See below, p. 95.

by al-Ya'qūbī.¹⁶¹ A similar case in which the worsening economic situation brought on the dwindling of the Samaritan community is also described.¹⁶²

Although it seems that al-Mutawakkil managed to introduce some law and order into the land, this was short-lived. At the end of his reign, and during the days of his successor al-Muntaṣir, anarchy reigned again. A rebel named Qūmaṭī (probably to be identified with al-Qiṭāmī)¹⁶³ succeeded in killing the Muslim commander in Nablus, and proceeded to rob, loot and kill. He was followed by another bandit who also kidnapped people. Anarchy was again replaced by tyranny when a new ruler named Majmūra (or Amājūr according to other sources) extorted money from the local inhabitants. The information concerning the governor Amājūr and, most probably, the former governor of Palestine 'Īsā ibn al-Shaykh,¹⁶⁴ seems to have been greatly disordered by one of the copyists, since it is interpolated into the text quite awkwardly and confusedly; the incoherent text that results from this has to be corrected and rearranged in order to be understood.

During the days of Amājūr, before Ibn Ṭūlūn gained control of Palestine, the text informs us of the involvement of the authorities in an internal Samaritan affair. The head of the Samaritan community, Yōsha', died, and a dispute developed between two individuals who claimed a right to the title: the brother of Yōsha', Yūsuf, who was apparently accepted as the new *ra'īs* by the community, and his uncle Maḍī, who contested his right. Maḍī had apparently been quick and cunning and had bought the diploma of appointment of the Samaritan community (*kitāb ru'asā' al-sāmīra*), thus gaining the support of the authorities. The community apparently rebelled against this coerced appointment, and was consequently punished and heavily fined by the authorities.¹⁶⁵ Such an official diploma of appointment issued by the authorities was indeed required from each of the religious groups among the *dhimmīs*.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶¹See below, p. 96 and n. 443.

¹⁶²See below, p. 102.

¹⁶³See below, pp. 96–97 nn. 444, 448.

¹⁶⁴See below, p. 99 n. 467.

¹⁶⁵See below, pp. 101–102.

¹⁶⁶See, for example, L.I. Conrad, "A Nestorian Diploma of Investiture from the *Tadhkira* of Ibn Ḥamdūn: the Text and its Significance," in Wadād al-Qāḍī, ed., *Studia Arabica et Islamica: Festschrift for Iḥsān 'Abbās* (Beirut, 1981), pp. 83–104; S.D. Goitein, "New Sources on the Palestinian Gaonate," in S. Lieberman, ed., *Salo Whitmeyer Baron Jubilee Volume on the Occasion of his Eightieth Birthday* (Jerusalem, 1974), pp. 503–37. An updated version of this latter study exists in Hebrew; see S.D. Goitein, "Government In-

There is ample and interesting information concerning the reign of Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn (r. 254–70/868–84). The reports about his gradual takeover of Egypt and North Africa are basically true, though somewhat naive and exaggerated and apparently based on popular hearsay. Thus the author reports about the new palace built by Ibn Ṭūlūn north of al-Fuṣṭāṭ. He adds that the money for building it came from a treasure trove uncovered by Ibn Ṭūlūn while digging in a fireplace: it was with this money that Ibn Ṭūlūn allegedly bought Sudan and other countries; this is in fact corroborated in Ibn Ṭūlūn's *Sīra*.¹⁶⁷ Uncorroborated and somewhat suspicious information concerning Ibn Ṭūlūn includes the claim that he conquered Barqa (i.e. Cyrenaica), and that the people of Alexandria submitted to him. In fact, the whole of Egypt and the frontier districts were submitted to his jurisdiction by the apnagist Yārjūj. Another interesting fact, uncorroborated but not contested elsewhere, is the claim that the island of Crete submitted to his rule.¹⁶⁸

The new information on Ibn Ṭūlūn's rule in Palestine and Syria, about which little has been known until now, seems to be accurate and based upon the personal experience of the author or upon the reports of other eyewitnesses. The author describes Ibn Ṭūlūn's arrival in Palestine in June 878, mourning the "ruin that the black soldiers brought upon the people," and describing the looting and rape that took place in the villages along the road.¹⁶⁹ He goes on to describe the consequences of his siege of Antioch, which ended in mass murder, adding sympathetically that "a great sorrow came upon the Muslims".¹⁷⁰

It should be especially emphasized that it has been supposed that, as in Egypt, Ibn Ṭūlūn's rule was favourable both towards the *dhimmī* population and towards the farmers, and greatly improved the condition of these populations.¹⁷¹ This supposition has to be rejected in light of our text. In complete contradiction to Ibn Ṭūlūn's positive image as a ruler who was generous, considerate and benevolent towards both Muslims and *dhimmīs* in Egypt, he is depicted in the text as "a bad man" who exploited and abused the inhab-

stallation of Gaons and Jewish Judges," *Palestinian Jewry in Early Islamic and Crusader Times in the Light of the Geniza Documents* (Jerusalem, 1980), pp. 70–81.

¹⁶⁷See below, p. 100 n. 477.

¹⁶⁸See below, p. 100 n. 479.

¹⁶⁹See below, pp. 102–103.

¹⁷⁰See below, p. 103.

¹⁷¹Gil, *History of Palestine*, p. 307.

itants of Palestine and made their lives unbearable. According to the text, Ibn Ṭūlūn returned with his army from Syria to Egypt through Palestine, and ordered the local inhabitants to provide for him and his forces. The text mentions several times that he confiscated the draught animals, the farmers' most precious possessions, and actually seized people from their villages and sent them to Egypt in ships, perhaps to take part in the intensive rehabilitation of Egypt, which was carried out under his rule, as mentioned on the next page. In addition, the governor appointed by him imposed a series of restrictions upon the *dhimmīs* similar to those imposed by al-Mutawakkil, including distinguishing signs, images upon the doors, restrictions upon prayer in public, and submissive behaviour towards Muslims; he also prohibited the drinking of wine. Further, he seems to have threatened the churches and synagogues, arousing in the *dhimmīs* fear that their places of worship might be confiscated for his needs. It appears that this repressive and humiliating attitude employed by the authorities had its effect upon the local Muslim inhabitants, who "behaved insolently towards the *dhimmīs*" and plundered anything they could.

Of special interest is the corroboration of the report about a fortress built in Jaffa by Ibn Ṭūlūn.¹⁷² It seems that a major part of the affliction and abuse brought about by Ibn Ṭūlūn was actually a result of his massive building projects, both in Palestine and in Egypt, which required provisions, a large work force, and draught animals—all of which he seized and confiscated without mercy.¹⁷³

The text sheds new light on the events leading up to the battle of al-Ṭawāḥīn in which Ibn Ṭūlūn's son, Khumārawayh, fought against the caliph's nephew, Abū l-'Abbās ibn al-Muwaffaq, the future caliph al-Mu'taḍid, on 5 April 885.¹⁷⁴ The news of the death of Ibn Ṭūlūn caused the governor of Palestine, 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Faṭḥ, otherwise unknown to us, to spread his wings; feeling free to do as he liked, he started oppressing the local population and extorting money from them. The news that Khumārawayh was sending his commanders northwards was enough to send him flying. Khumārawayh's generals, who were on their way to protect the Ṭūlūnid territories in Syria, once again threatened by the 'Abbāsids, appointed a new governor by the name of Iṣba', who turned out to be as bad as his

¹⁷²See below, p. 104 n. 518.

¹⁷³See below, pp. 102–106.

¹⁷⁴On this battle, see Gil, *History of Palestine*, pp. 308–309.

predecessor, if not worse. When things took a turn for the worse and the 'Abbāsids began to gain the upper hand in Syria, one of these generals, by the name of Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Wāsiṭī (or Abū 'Abd Allāh), decided to change sides. Thus, upon arriving in Palestine, he arrested Iṣba', the loyal Ṭūlūnid governor, and apparently started levying taxes on the order of the 'Abbāsid ruler. Upon hearing of his betrayal, the other general, Sa'd al-Aysar, arrived immediately, fought him and defeated him, killing 130 of his officers and many of his soldiers. Abū 'Abd Allāh fled to Damascus, where, upon being informed of Khumārawayh's unstable state, he tried to lure Sa'd to rebel against Khumārawayh as well. It was this threat that brought Khumārawayh and his army to al-Ṭawāḥīn. We thus find here a much more detailed account, given from a local point of view, of the events that brought about the battle of al-Ṭawāḥīn (identified in the text as Ra's al-'Ayn). According to the text, it was the discord between these two generals over the question of loyalty to the Ṭūlūnid ruler—a break that occurred in Palestine—that drove Abū 'Abd Allāh to Damascus and finally led to the confrontation at al-Ṭawāḥīn. When the battle of al-Ṭawāḥīn ended with Khumārawayh's victory, Iṣba' was again appointed governor, only to continue oppressing the inhabitants.¹⁷⁵

Following this we are informed of a seemingly important yet obscure reform in Samaritan liturgy, pursued throughout the reigns of two of the Samaritan high priests. Since the text here has been deleted and corrected by the copyist, it is difficult to be certain what this reform involved. It seems, however, to have been applied to a certain manner of reading the Pentateuch. The operative term seems to be *ramī*, in which case this would probably mean that the Aramaic version in use for the reading of the Pentateuch was supplanted by an Arabic version,¹⁷⁶ a shift quite common among other groups in Palestine at the end of the tenth century,¹⁷⁷ by which time the most common language spoken among the Samaritans was Arabic. It is

¹⁷⁵See below, pp. 106–109.

¹⁷⁶See below, pp. 110–11 n. 578.

¹⁷⁷On this subject see S.H. Griffith, "Anthony David of Baghdad, Scribe and Monk of Mar Sabas: Arabic in the Monasteries of Palestine," *CH* 58 (1989), pp. 7–19; *idem*, "Greek into Arabic: Life and Letters in the Monasteries of Palestine in the Ninth Century—the Example of the *Summa Theologiae Arabica*," *Byzantion* 56 (1986), pp. 117–38; *idem*, "Stephan of Ramleh's and the Christian Kerygma in Arabic in 9th-Century Palestine," *JEH* 36 (1985), pp. 23–45; *idem*, "The Arabic Account of 'Abd al-Masīḥ an-Naḡrānī al-Ghassānī," *Le Muséon* 98 (1985), pp. 331–74. See also M. Levy-Rubin, "Arabization versus Islamization," above, p. 35 n. 106.

also possible to read this word as *rūmī*, in which case it would be the Greek language that was supplanted by Arabic. This, however, seems very unlikely; we do know, in fact, that Greek was used by Samaritans during the Byzantine period, and Abū l-Faṭḥ himself notes that he chose to omit many Greek expressions included in his sources in order to make the text more legible and comprehensible.¹⁷⁸ It is known that Greek expressions were preserved in Samaritan marriage contracts,¹⁷⁹ and there is also an argument concerning the existence of an independent Greek version of the Torah.¹⁸⁰ Nevertheless, it seems most unlikely that during the tenth century the Pentateuch was being read in Greek. It seems very probable, on the other hand, that it was the Samaritans' traditional language, Aramaic, that was gradually being replaced, a process also familiar among the Aramaic-speaking Christians in Palestine.

The *ra'īs* mentioned here in connection with this reform, Dartā, may be related in some manner to the well-known poet and author of the composition known as *The Rules of Ibn Dartā Regarding the Reading*, Ṭabiya ibn Dartā, who flourished in the tenth century.¹⁸¹

As for the date mentioned at the beginning of the paragraph, the year AH 369 (= CE 979–80), this seems quite out of place here since the preceding event mentioned—the swarm of locusts—occurred in 297/909–10, while the following events refer to the end of the third decade and the fourth decade of the tenth century. It may be that this section is a mislocated interpolation, although it seems much more likely that the date was copied wrongly. If indeed this reform took place in the first third of the tenth century, then it would also agree well with the dates of Ṭabiya ibn Dartā, who may have been continuing his father's project, which aimed at defining the rules for reading the Pentateuch.

New information is added concerning the rule of the Ikhshīd (r. 323–34/935–46) in Palestine. A series of events leads to the rule of Muḥammad ibn Ṭughj al-Ikhshīd in Palestine. After the death of an unknown governor of Palestine named al-Rā'irī, a governor named Abū 'Abd Allāh, who is to be identified with al-Rāshidī, was appointed. According to the text, al-Rāshidī adopted a favourable attitude towards the local population.¹⁸² He was ousted

¹⁷⁸Vilmar, p. 5.

¹⁷⁹R. Pummer, "Samaritan Rituals and Customs", in Crown, *Samaritans*, p. 662.

¹⁸⁰See S. Noja, "The Samareitikon," in *ibid.*, pp. 408–12.

¹⁸¹See A. Tal, "Samaritan Literature," in *ibid.*, pp. 416–19.

¹⁸²See below, pp. 111 and n. 583, 113 and n. 592.

and sent to Damascus by Muḥammad ibn Ṭughj al-Ikhshīd, whose governorship of Palestine, which lasted seven months, is described as distressing and harmful.¹⁸³ These remarks demonstrate once again the precariousness of the conditions endured by the *dhimmīs* in Palestine, whose fate was decided to a large degree by the policy adopted by the local ruler towards the local non-Muslim inhabitants. Another event mirroring this reliance upon the good will and positive attitude of the ruler is the story about the miraculous recovery of the governor of Egypt's son, al-Takīn—a recovery brought about by Samaritan priests. Their success in healing him was generously rewarded, and they were given special privileges for a period of a year and two months. These gifts and privileges improved the conditions of the whole Samaritan community, as is emphasized in the text.¹⁸⁴

The Ikhshīd's return to Palestine following his victory over Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Mādhārā'ī in 935 was again bad news for the local non-Muslim inhabitants. Not only was anarchy and crime rampant everywhere, but Ibn Ṭughj adopted a policy of outright extortion and oppression of the Samaritans, such as is rarely mentioned previously in the text, giving the reader again the special Palestinian angle on the rule of Muḥammad ibn Ṭughj.

To conclude, it may be said that excluding a certain period between the reign of the Ṭūlūnids and al-Takīn (*ca.* 886–910), the *Continuatio* supplies us with a generally continuous and quite detailed description of events in Palestine during the early Muslim period, up to the days of Muḥammad ibn Ṭughj. Its continuity and the local angle on events that it provides are of great advantage, since Muslim chronicles are devoid of either of these elements when dealing with Palestine. Nevertheless, it should be remarked that the *Continuatio* cannot be treated as a full and comprehensive history of Palestine during the said period; this is due to the nature of the chronicle, which tends to concentrate on the area of Samaria and neglect other areas of Palestine. In other cases, as is attested, conditions did not allow the luxury of recording the events. We thus may appreciate the ample information given us about the behaviour of local governors, the movements and actions of rulers in Palestine, rebellions and battles, the attitude towards the *dhimmīs*, the economic situation and the physical conditions at different periods, and so on; yet we should bear in mind that there were other developments that are not mentioned in the text. Thus we do not hear, for example, of al-Manṣūr's

¹⁸³See below, p. 113 and n. 595.

¹⁸⁴See below, pp. 111–12.

visit to Jerusalem, or in fact about any other events that took place there. Naturally other religious communities are very rarely mentioned, and then only in passing. It should therefore be borne in mind that although much can be learned from this text about Palestine in the early Muslim period, the material is presented from a specific local angle, and therefore nothing can be learnt or deduced *ex silentio*. This said, it should once again be emphasized that information about Palestine for this period is very meagre, and that the contribution of this text to our knowledge of the period is indeed a substantial and meaningful one.

About this Translation

This translation was meant, at first, to include only that section of the Paris manuscript that was not printed by Vilmar and does not appear in any of the other manuscripts. However, it soon became apparent that the present work should begin with the appearance of Muḥammad on the scene. Vilmar did indeed print the part from Muḥammad to Hārūn al-Rashīd, but this remained without translation or notes. It thus seemed that the present work would be more complete if it started both where Stenhouse's translation left off and where a new era in Palestine's history began.

The Paris manuscript includes a version of this section that is quite unlike what appears in the other manuscripts, and seems to be more accurate.¹⁸⁵ This version, which appears after the more common version (located at the end of the first part of the manuscript up to p. 202, before the colophon), is not represented by Vilmar's apparatus. This repetition, which appears in the beginning of the new section following the colophon, makes it evident that the *Continuatio* begins, in fact, at this point. This claim, which is supported by technical and morphological proofs, is also in line with the Samaritan eschatological scheme, which sees in Muḥammad the herald of the last period of the *fanūta*, the "Age of Disfavour," after which the Samaritan Messiah, the *tāhib*, will arrive. This and the list of Samaritan High Priests appearing at the end of the first section was in fact the basis for Vilmar's initial claim that Abū l-Faḥḥ's original composition extended only to the time of Muḥammad.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁵See above, pp. 7–10.

¹⁸⁶See above, pp. 5–7.

For all these reasons, it became clear that a complete text of the *Continuatio* should start after the first colophon, with the second version of the advent of Muḥammad, covering pp. 203–64 of the Paris manuscript.

Unlike the part from Hārūn al-Rashīd onwards, the first section of the text, from Muḥammad to Hārūn al-Rashīd, finds parallels in some other manuscripts, to which it therefore had to be compared. Some of these Mss. were already included in Vilmar's edition; these are Berlin, Or. Ms. 4° no. 471 (Vilmar's A); Berlin, Petermann I 8 (Vilmar's B); Paris, Ms. Sam. no. 10 (Vilmar's C) = the first version, fol. 197–202; and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Huntington 350 (Vilmar's D). Of these four, only Vilmar's A and C continue beyond the legend of Muḥammad's identification as a prophet by the three astrologers and cover the period from the rise of the Umayyads until Hārūn al-Rashīd.

Additional manuscripts have been discovered since Vilmar's time; all of these were listed and thoroughly collated in Stenhouse's critical edition and translation, which includes the text up to and including the time of Muḥammad. Several of these manuscripts continued beyond the legend of Muḥammad and the three astrologers until the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd.

In establishing the text I have proceeded as follows. For the first part—the legend of Muḥammad's identification as a prophet—Stenhouse's work includes a full critical edition. I concentrated, therefore, on comparing the second version of this legend, appearing on pp. 203–207 of the text, with the version that appears at the end of the first part of the manuscript (pp. 197–202) and its parallels, which are accounted for in Stenhouse's translation and in Vilmar's text. Since there were no meaningful differences between Vilmar's and Stenhouse's editions, I chose to refer to the former; this was done for practical reasons only, since Stenhouse's edition exists only in a limited microfiche edition and is not as yet readily available.

As for the part covering the period from the Umayyads to Hārūn al-Rashīd, I chose to present only the meaningful differences, rather than to publish a full critical edition. This is justified by the fact that in effect, there were not many variants that did not appear already in Vilmar's edition. In fact, the additional manuscripts covering this period seem to adhere loyally to the version presented by Vilmar's edition, which is based on his Ms. A, i.e. Berlin, Or. Ms. 4° no. 471, while most of the variants are actually found in the Paris manuscript.

For comparing the parallel versions of the part covering the period from the Umayyads to Hārūn, I chose several of the manuscripts, basing my choice

on the stemma of the manuscripts constructed by Stenhouse. I thus examined the following manuscripts:

1. London, British Library, Ms. Or. no. 1447 (Stenhouse's B/BA), copied in 1865. This manuscript was the source of BL, Ms. Or. no. 10,875 (Stenhouse's G), which in turn was the source of Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Landberg Ms. no. 663 (Stenhouse's Y), copied in 1868.
2. London, British Library, Ms. Or. no. 2080, copied in 1859 (Stenhouse's E).
3. Vatican City, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Sbath Ms. no. 744 (end of 19th/beginning of 20th c. = Stenhouse's Va). This Ms. and no. 2 above, in addition to Berlin, Or. Ms. 4° no. 471, copied in 1859 (Stenhouse's F), all depend on the same source, probably the archetype of family B.
4. Jerusalem, Jewish National and University Library, Sam. Ms. 8° no. 5, copied in 1908 (Stenhouse's J). This manuscript and Leningrad Ms. Sam. VI 19, copied in 1863 (Stenhouse's M), were both copied from the same source.

I also made use of the later amplified Mss. mentioned above, that were copied rather loosely and included many later extensions, finding no meaningful variants there. Altogether, it may be said quite confidently that the section covering the period from the Umayyads to Hārūn al-Rashīd was in all the manuscripts based on the same archetype. Meaningful differences are to be found mainly in the Paris text following the colophon, which renders another version of the story of the identification of Muḥammad as a prophet and seems to carry an earlier and more accurate version, including some difficult passages, terms and names omitted in the other manuscripts.

I have chosen to present the Arabic text in facsimile for two reasons. First, the main body of the *Continuatio* (pp. 218–64) has no parallels at all, while its first part (pp. 203–18) is notably different from the other versions. Second, the language of the text is very colloquial and grammatically quite unsystematic; on the other hand, the writing is quite legible and clear. I thus saw a great advantage in presenting it in its original form, allowing the

reader to examine for himself all the problematic words and expressions—both those that cannot be readily understood and those that can be read in several ways.¹⁸⁷

The task of translating the text proved to be quite problematic in some places. The colloquial style in which the text was written at times uses expressions that are unclear and undocumented in other texts, and are therefore sometimes difficult to understand. Hypothetical readings may at times be offered, but these cannot always be convincingly supported. A second obstacle lies in the fact that there seem to have been copying mistakes: in some of these cases the copyist himself did not comprehend completely what he was copying, while in others he may inadvertently have skipped words or lines. The copyist in fact admits to this when he begs the reader's forgiveness, as this is the first book that he has ever copied (Ms. p. 202), and mentions elsewhere (p. 264) that he is an amateur. Since the manuscript is unique, there is no certain way of knowing what the mistake is and what the correct text looked like. In such cases one can hardly do more than suggest what appears to be the most plausible reading. Alternative readings, or points where doubts remain, appear in the notes. These considerations should be taken into account when using the translation. Readings that were suggested by my *SLAEI* editor, Lawrence I. Conrad, are marked "L.C."

For ease of cross-reference the page numbers of the Paris manuscript have been indicated in bold type in the translation. It is this pagination that is used when reference is made to the manuscript in this book.

¹⁸⁷I would like to thank the Bibliothèque Nationale for kindly granting me permission to publish photographs of the Paris manuscript.

TRANSLATION

[203] AT THAT TIME¹ there were three men, astrologers, who used to foretell coming events:² the first, Šarmaša, a Samaritan from ‘Askar;³ the second, Ka‘b al-Aḥbār, a Jew; and the third,⁴ ‘Abd Allāh, a Christian from Lydda (Ludd).⁵ These three were aware of each other’s skill, and they saw in their

¹The following story presents another version of the famous story of Baḥīra, the Christian monk who met Muḥammad in his youth and identified him as the future prophet by finding on him the stigmata of prophecy in the form of a mole between his shoulders. See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk*, ed. M.J. de Goeje *et al.* (Leiden, 1879–1901), I, 1123ff.; *EI*², s.v. “Baḥīra”. The name Baḥīra, though, is not mentioned here; instead, two figures beside the Samaritan Šarmaša take his place. The first, it seems, is to be identified with ‘Abd Allāh ibn Salām, who appears in the Paris Ms. once as ‘Abd Allāh and later as ‘Abd al-Salām, while in all the other Mss. he appears only as ‘Abd al-Salām (see Vilmar, p. 173:3), who is presented here as the Christian monk. The second is Ka‘b al-Aḥbār, the renowned Jew who accompanied ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (see *EI*², s.v.). ‘Abd Allāh ibn Salām, Ka‘b al-Aḥbār and Baḥīra appear together in Muslim tradition along with several other figures from the *ahl al-kitāb* who joined Islam, bringing with them certain written traditions into the faith. See Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel (Leipzig, 1871–72), I, 22. ‘Abd Allāh ibn Salām was in fact a converted Jew (*EI*², s.v. “‘Abd Allāh ibn Salām”). On the legend of Baḥīra and the traditions of Jews who embraced Islam, according to different Muslim, Jewish and Christian traditions, see M. Gil, “The Story of Baḥīra and its Jewish Versions”, *Hebrew and Arabic Studies in Honour of Joshua Blau* (Jerusalem, 1993), pp. 193–210 (in Hebrew); see also the article by J. McDonald, who cites a Hebrew version of this same story and compares it to the story of the magi and Jesus in *AJBA* 1 (1969), pp. 3–12.

²Cf. Vilmar, p. 173:1: ماهرين في صناعتهم, “proficient in their trade”.

³See Geographical Appendix.

⁴The word ثالث is somewhat unclear in the text.

⁵Cf. Vilmar, p. 173:2–3: نصراني راهب واسمه عبد السلام, “a Christian monk by the name of ‘Abd al-Salām”.

dreams⁶ that the rule of Byzantium had ended, that the rule of Ismā‘īl⁷ was beginning, and that a leader (*qā’im*) was arising for them⁸ from amongst the descendents of Hāshim. His sign would be found on his back [in the form of] a yellow mole the size of a palm, and the first thing to occur would be that he would emerge from a city called “the city of the messenger”.⁹ The three met together and said: “Let us go and see whether it is he or not; if it is he, we shall contemplate what we should do,¹⁰ [so that] we will not be hurt [by him like we were] by those who preceded [him].”¹¹ The three departed and arrived at his city, where he was staying. When they approached him and saw him they said: “Who could overcome him?”¹² They decided that Ka‘b al-Aḥbār should approach him. So [Ka‘b] approached him and greeted him, and Muḥammad asked him: “Who are you?” He answered: “I am one of the Jewish dignitaries, and I found in my Torah that [one] of the descendents of Ismā‘īl will arise, [204] who will rule and conquer the world,¹³ and no one will stand in his way.” [Then] ‘Abd Allāh said likewise: “I found the same in the Gospel”, and they did not recognize any authority but his.¹⁴ When

⁶Ms. نظروا في حلومتهم. See R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* (Leiden, 1881), I, 318: “certaines mots barbares que l’on prononce avant s’endormir, et qui amènent une vision par laquelle on apprend ce qu’on désire savoir”. They saw in their dreams, therefore, as a result of these incantations.

⁷Muslim rule is often called Ismā‘īliya by the Samaritans. Cf. below, p. 50 n. 30.

⁸Ms. وان قائم لهم قائم من اولاد هاشم. The term *qā’im*, literally “riser”, is a loaded term that in Shī‘ī and Sunnī circles usually denotes the *mahdī*, and often appears as *al-qā’im bi-amr Allāh*, the one who shall rise by the order of God, or *al-Qā’im al-Mahdī*. It should be noted that it is only this version of the story of Muḥammad’s appearance that uses this term, while the first version appearing in the first part of the Paris manuscript, as well as all the other manuscripts, choose to use the much more neutral word *rajul*, “man”. See Vilmar, p. 173:4–5: على يد رجل من اولاد اسماعيل من بني هاشم. On the *qā’im*, see *EI*², s.v. “Qā’im āl Muḥammad”; M. Sharon, *Black Banners from the East* (Jerusalem and Leiden, 1983), p. 142 and n. 160; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, III, ed. ‘A.‘A. al-Dūrī (Wiesbaden, 1978), p. 178.

⁹Ms. مدینه الرسول: this phrase is missing in Vilmar’s version.

¹⁰Ms. دبرنا ما نفعله.

¹¹Ms. ولا سيلحقنا من هولاي الذي تقدمو. Vilmar, p. 173:8–9, is more complete: لئلا يلحقنا منه ما لحقنا من الذين تقدموا.

¹²This is an unusual usage of the verb قدر. See E.W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon* (London, 1863–93), I.6, 2495: ما لي عليك مقدرة, “I have not power over thee”.

¹³Vilmar, p. 173:13, has: ان يقوم ملك من نسل اسماعيل ويملك الدنيا.

¹⁴Presumably this refers to the fact that they submitted themselves to Muḥammad

Šarmaša, the Samaritan, approached him he said to him: "You will be the one to profess [the Muslim] faith and law; with it you will subdue the necks of the infidels and you will rule the world through it. We were told that there is a sign between your shoulders." [Muḥammad] stood up and revealed his back,¹⁵ and they saw the mole on his back. When Ka'b al-Aḥbār heard Šarmaša's words he became a hypocrite in his religion;¹⁶ 'Abd al-Salām¹⁷ too became a hypocrite. The man¹⁸ was pleased with them, and also with the words he heard from Šarmaša. He said: "Why are you not doing the same as these [two] did?" [Šarmaša] had already gained from him¹⁹ concessions with respect to taxation and protection²⁰ before he proclaimed the message of Islam to him, so that he would not force him to do what he did not want to do; and Šarmaša, the Samaritan, said to him: "My need is satisfied by that which I have"²¹—that is, the law and the faith²²—and [Muḥammad]

totally and accepted the Muslim faith, as is indeed noted later on. Vilmar's version (p. 173:14–15) is different: ولم يعرفوا شيئاً إلا من صناعتهم, i.e. "they did not know anything except for matters of their craft", alluding to the fact that they did not in fact find it in the Scriptures, but through their craft, i.e. through astrological observations.

¹⁵Ms. ظهره; read ظهروه. For the merging between ض and ط in MA, see Blau, *Grammar*, I, 114.

¹⁶Ms. انفق, here in the sense of نفاق في الدين; see J.G. Hava, *Al-Farā'id: Arabic-English Dictionary* (Beirut, 1970), p. 789; A. de Biberstein Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire arabe-français* (Paris, 1860), II, 1315. This word, which in Islam is considered a derogatory term denoting someone who has left the Muslim faith, serves here to denote someone who has left his own religion in order to become a Muslim. For the connotation of this term in Islam, see *EI*², s.v. "Munāfiqūn".

¹⁷Earlier he is called 'Abd Allāh.

¹⁸Referring to Muḥammad.

¹⁹Ms. اخذ عليه is an elliptical form of اخذ عليه عهدا. See Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 12.

²⁰Ms. وكان قد اخذ عليه الواحد والميثاق, with الواحد to be corrected to الاجل. For this sense of اجل see Lane, *Lexicon*, I.1, 25. Vilmar's text (p. 175:7) reads: جئتكم لاجل عهد وميثاق, "I came to you for the sake of a pact and a treaty". This may be a *lectio faciliior* of the Paris Ms.

²¹Ms. عندي من هذا حاجتي. Cf. Vilmar, p. 175:4–7, who has the same sentence in a different context. According to the present text, Šarmaša deliberately asked Muḥammad for the treaty before he let him know that he would not adopt his religion, while the other Mss. claim that Šarmaša revealed his intentions to Muḥammad, who was offended by his rejection, and only then asked Muḥammad for the treaty. This latter order of events would have obviously demanded from Muḥammad a much greater measure of generosity.

²²One of the late and amplified versions, and therefore not a direct parallel of the text (see above, Introduction, p. 7 n. 18), found in John Rylands Library Ms. no. 234 (1161),

said to him in answer to this:²³ "What do you want, O Samaritan?"²⁴ and so on to the end of the discussion.²⁵ This was [the work] of Ka'b al-Aḥbār,²⁶

fol. 156r, adduces here a somewhat different version, including a paragraph in Samaritan Aramaic. According to this version Muḥammad invited the three to share his meal with him. 'Abd al-Salām and Ka'b al-Aḥbār accepted his offer, while Šarmaša refused, claiming that his religion did not allow him to do so. This is what made Muḥammad angry, and he then exclaimed: "Well then, what do you want from me, O Samaritan?" See also McDonald's version above, p. 46 n. 1.

²³See Vilmar, p. 174:6, which adds: وانجرح محمد منه, "and Muḥammad was offended by him" (i.e. by his rejection).

²⁴Vilmar, p. 174:6, reads: فقال له ما خطبك.

²⁵It seems that the formula of the treaty that Šarmaša allegedly received from Muḥammad was so well known that the author of the present text chose to omit it. This seems to contradict somewhat the previous statement claiming that Šarmaša had received some form of agreement from Muḥammad previously; this may be explained, however, as some form of a general commitment, which was later followed by a formal and detailed treaty. The text omitted here is given by the other Mss., cited by Vilmar, pp. 174–75, and translated by Stenhouse, pp. 245–46. The following is Stenhouse's translation of the omitted part: "Šarmaša said to him: 'O my master, I have come to you to get a covenant and a treaty that we can rely upon, I and the people of my faith and my religion: a covenant of peace and security: as a protection for persons and families and property and religious endowments, and for freedom to erect houses of worship.' Muḥammad instructed a scribe to draw up a covenant for them, of peace and security according to what he had requested. The scribe entered his presence [and wrote]: 'I, Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Muṭṭalib, have commanded that a treaty of peace and security be written down for the Samaritans concerning themselves and their families and their property and houses of worship and religious endowments throughout all my realm and in all their territories. And that this be effective for them and as a covenant of peace among the people of Palestine; and as a safe conduct.' Then Šarmaša took it and left his presence. But 'Āmir ibn Rabī'a and 'Abd Allāh ibn Jaḥsh advised him to get the covenant endorsed by 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib. So he went back to Muḥammad and stood before him and said: 'O my master, I have come to you from an extensive, vast and distant land and from a religious group which is weak and which the polytheists have persecuted and which the idol worshippers have overcome. We look for deliverance to God, by means of you. I have been advised to obtain the endorsement of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib for this covenant.' So he instructed 'Alī to sign the document, and he wrote for them from him [as follows]: 'I append to this covenant of peace for the Samaritans, a guarantee for themselves, their families, their belongings, their houses of worship and their religious endowments throughout all my lands in every place and throughout all my possessions—that it be for them a safe conduct.' This was written on a piece of leather, and he ('Alī) gave it to him. Šarmaša kissed the ground from a respectful distance and said farewell. Muḥammad said: 'O Samaritan, depart! In your lifetime you can indeed say, "Let no one touch me". You have a pledge. Do not violate it. Look to your God whom you are still loyally following.'"

²⁶This sentence refers to an event that apparently stood at the end of the section that

since [Šarmaša] had not done as he did—every affliction that comes upon us is due to the Jews, may God punish them. Šarmaša left, and Ka'b al-Aḥbār and 'Abd al-Salām stayed; Ka'b al-Aḥbār became his secretary,²⁷ [205] and he was the one who administered everything and directed all the correspondence²⁸ and the rest.²⁹

From the creation of Adam until the rule of Yishmā'el³⁰ there are 5047 years.³¹ After this the Ishmaelites, Muḥammad and all his army, went forth to wage war against the Byzantines; they conquered the land and defeated

the scribe of our text chose to omit, obviously believing that it was common knowledge. Surprisingly, the event is not recounted in its entirety even in the other Mss., which did choose to tell the story of the *amān* given to the Samaritans. In the latter, there appears only one sentence, which itself seems to be out of context: *لنحرقه ثم لنسفه في اليم نسفا* (Vilmar, p. 175:7–8), “Let us burn it, and then let us tear it up and throw [the pieces] into the sea” (Stenhouse, *trans.*, p. 246). The following sentence, appearing only in our text and in the first version of the story in the Paris manuscript (Vilmar, p. 175:13–14; see above, Introduction, pp. 22–23), attributes this act to Ka'b al-Aḥbār, who seems to have done this in order to punish Šarmaša for not having accepted Islam, as he himself had done. Having lost this crucial piece of evidence, the Samaritans were not protected as they could have been in the first place, and were afflicted by many misfortunes. It is thus logical to conclude that while our text chose to omit the detailed version of the *amān*, and returned only to remark that subsequent problems were all Ka'b al-Aḥbār's fault, the other manuscripts were missing a vital point at the end of the story.

²⁷See Vilmar, p. 175:11–12: *وصار كعب الاحبار عنده يكتب له ويرتب ما يرتب ويعرفه كل* قضية, “and Ka'b al-Aḥbār became his secretary, organized [affairs for him] and advised him on all issues” (Stenhouse, *trans.*, p. 246).

²⁸Ms. *המכתב*, Hebrew for “the letter”, or perhaps Arabic, *مكتب*, “office”.

²⁹The amplified John Rylands Ms. mentioned above (p. 8 n. 18), fols. 156v–157r, adds here another paragraph in Samaritan Aramaic reporting the bad advice and false wisdom that these two gave to Muḥammad, including many things that they inserted into the Qur'ān.

³⁰Ms. *يشمعال*, sic! In genealogical schemes formulated by both Muslims and non-Muslims in the medieval Near East, the Arabs are the descendents of Ishmael. See *EI* 2, s.v. “Ismā'il”; R. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It: a Survey and Evaluation of Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian Writings on Early Islam* (Princeton, 1997), pp. 131–32, 266, 280 n. 68, 336, 509–10.

³¹This is according to the computation of Abū l-Faṭḥ, which is, however, not universally agreed upon by the Samaritans. See S. Powels, “The Samaritan Calendar and the Roots of Samaritan Chronology”, in Crown, *Samaritans*, pp. 691–742. In fact, Berlin Ms. Or. 4° 471, gives an additional computation according to which from Adam to Muḥammad there are 4869 years. See Vilmar, p. 173.

the Byzantines and killed them as they fled before them.³²

The *imām* in those days was 'Aqbūn ben El'azar, who lived in Bayt Šāma.³³ When the Muslims attacked and the Byzantines fled, all of the Samaritans who lived along the coast fled with the Byzantines from the advancing Muslims, [thinking]³⁴ that they would return. When the Samaritans began to leave with the Byzantines for Byzantium (Rūmīya), they came to the *ra'īs* 'Aqbūn ben El'azar, to Bayt Šāma, because he lived there, and said to him: “You are a trustworthy man, so we will deposit our possessions with you until we return,” thinking³⁵ that they would be returning soon. They collected their possessions and deposited them with him, and there accumulated in his charge an amount of wealth greater than anything either encountered or known. The people who deposited [their wealth] were the people of Caesarea (Qaysāriya), Arsūf,³⁶ Maioumas (Mīmās),³⁷ Jaffa (Yāffa), Lydda, Ascalon ('Asqalān), Gaza (Ghazza), and all of the interior villages³⁸ and those [206] along the coast. After this they left for Byzantium³⁹ and remained there and have not returned to this day.

³²According to the Islamic tradition, which consistently regards almost all of the campaigns of the Syrian conquest as having occurred after the death of Muḥammad, this information must be wrong. But in non-Islamic sources it is often stated that Muḥammad personally led campaigns into Syria; see Theophanes Confessor, *Chronographia*, ed. K. de Boor (Leipzig, 1883–85), I, 333–34; Agapius, *Kitāb al-'unwān*, ed. L. Cheikho (Paris, 1912), II, 334–35; Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, ed. Gy. Moravcsik, trans. R.J.H. Jenkins (Washington, D.C., 1967), XIV:1–36, XVII:1–10 (text), 77–79, 81 (trans.); Michael the Syrian, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, ed. and trans. J.-B. Chabot (Paris, 1899–1924), II, 403–405; *Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens*, ed. J.-B. Chabot (Paris, 1916–20), I, 227–30. This bears on the question of the sources of the *Continuatio*. Before the adoption of Arabic the main language used by the Samaritans was Samaritan Aramaic, so access to Syriac would have been a simple matter for any educated Samaritan who could read Syriac script.

³³See Geographical Appendix.

³⁴The scribe seems to have dropped the word *يظنوا* by mistake. See Ms. p. 205:10–11: *وكانوا يظنوا انهم عايدين عن قرب*.

³⁵The verb here should be *يظنوا*, as commented in the preceding note.

³⁶Ms. *وارشوف*; read *ارسوف*. Arsūf, called also Apollonia, was a town on the coast between Jaffa and Caesarea (presently near Herzliya). See Geographical Appendix.

³⁷Maioumas, on the coast near Gaza. The text reads *ميماس*.

³⁸In this text the word *ضياع* consistently denotes “villages” rather than “estates”.

³⁹Ms. *شرقيه*, but this should most probably be *شرق رومية* (L.C.). See Ms. p. 205:8, where *شرقيه* is clearly given; and cf. Vilmar, p. 179:10, who reads *شرقية*.

The Muslims rose and entered the land of Canaan, and took control of it; they seized all the cities and inhabited them, and ruled over all the places until there was no place left which they had not taken over but Caesarea, which rebelled and did not submit to them because it was called the mother of cities⁴⁰ and took precedence over them. [The Muslims] set camp against it and besieged it for six years before they conquered it.⁴¹ [Now] the Byzantines were making use⁴² of the sea before the Muslims were acquainted with it. In the fortress of Caesarea, at its north (*min al-Shām*), in the northwest corner, there was a small⁴³ gate which was hidden from view.⁴⁴ The Byzantines used to come and go through it without the Muslims knowing. [The Byzantines] forgot and left it open, and a dog came out of it. When [the Muslims] saw it, they followed it to the gate without raising the alarm.⁴⁵ They rode in,

⁴⁰Caesarea was the metropolis of Provincia Palaestina Prima.

⁴¹Caesarea was under siege already in Jumādā I AH 13/July 634, according to al-Balādhuri, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, ed. M.J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1866), p. 140. He reports that Caesarea was besieged on and off between this date and its capture in Shawwāl 19/September–October 640. He adds that altogether it was besieged about seven years before it was captured. Al-Ṭabarī, I, 2579, also mentions another tradition according to which this event took place in 20/641. On the conquest of Caesarea, see Gil, *History of Palestine*, pp. 59–60. Noth lists Caesarea among the cities whose capture fits well into an accepted *topos*. See A. Noth, *The Early Arabic Historical Tradition*, second ed. in collaboration with L.I. Conrad, trans. M. Bonner (Princeton, 1994), pp. 167–68. The account appearing here, however, does not fit into this *topos*.

⁴²Ms. *يستخدمو*. This use of the root *خدم* with reference to an inanimate noun is quite irregular. It appears once more in the the Ms. on p. 251pu.

⁴³For this sense of *لطيف* see Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 532.

⁴⁴Ms. *بخمن*; see Lane, *Lexicon*, I.2, 813.

⁴⁵Ms. *ما علم بهم*. The following sentences seem to include authentic details about the city of Caesarea. Especially interesting is the reference to the upper and lower market, which seem to have been located so far apart that the massacre which took place throughout the day in the lower market was not felt in the upper market. Although extensive excavations have taken place in Caesarea in recent years, it is not possible to identify these sites with confidence. It would be hard to imagine that these names refer to features of topography, since Caesarea is flat; they may, however, refer to their relative locations in the city. It is known that Byzantine Caesarea was a large city in the shape of a large semi-circle 2500 meters in diameter, and that it flourished as never before, with a population estimated at around 100,000. For a description of Caesarea during the Byzantine period, see K. Holum and R.L. Hohfelder, eds., *King Herod's Dream: Caesarea on the Sea* (New York and London, 1988), pp. 155–99, esp. pp. 173–76. Two markets have been identified in Caesarea: one was the original *agora*, and the other was called the *pedion* or the *Campus Martius* (*ibid.*, p. 176); however, according to the map (*ibid.*, p. 163), these must have

and there was⁴⁶ killing in the city. They continued killing for a whole day in the lower market before it was known in the upper [market], because it was built in the form of one city above another. Whoever was able to flee fled by sea, whoever opposed them they killed, and whoever submitted to them was unharmed. The city was captured, and they inhabited it. After they captured it, every place else stood in awe of them.

[207] The Banū Ismāʿīl gained control of all the places, and the *jizya* was set at four *dirhams*⁴⁷ and a sack of barley, in addition to the tax upon the land (*kharāj*). The prophet of Islam did not cause anyone distress throughout his life. He would present his belief before the people, accepting anyone who came to him, [yet] not compelling one who did not. He remained in power for ten years, and all the world obeyed him. From him, his rule was transferred to his relatives, the Banū Umayya,⁴⁸ [and they ruled] according to what he had enjoined upon them; they did no more or less, and did not harm anyone. From them descended nineteen rulers, descendants of Muḥammad. Muḥammad lived for 63 years; for 43 years he did not reveal anything to anyone; for ten years [he was occupied in] wars, and for ten years [he was] a prophet.⁴⁹ He ruled and died, and after him rose ʿAtīq ibn Abī Quḥāfa,⁵⁰ known as Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq. He ruled for two years and three months.⁵¹ After him rose ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, who ruled for ten years and seven

been quite close to each other, if we are to accept the evidence in the *Vita* of Anastasius; concerning this, see W.E. Kaegi, "Some Seventh Century Sources on Caesarea," *IEJ* 28 (1978), pp. 178–79.

⁴⁶For the use of *بقي* in the sense of "to be", see Blau, *Grammar*, II, 440–41.

⁴⁷On this coin see *EI*², s.v. "Dirham", "Jizya". The terms *jizya* and *kharāj* were not clearly defined at first, and the use of these terms here seems to be somewhat anachronistic. This specific amount does not seem to be mentioned elsewhere. For taxes in Palestine after the conquest, see Gil, *History of Palestine*, pp. 143–46.

⁴⁸As will soon become clear, the Rāshidūn are included among Banū Umayya. On the nature of the conquest and conditions in Palestine under the Umayyads, see Introduction, pp. 27–28 and nn. 128, 131 above.

⁴⁹Ms. *نبى* = *نبي*.

⁵⁰In the Samaritan script here the personal name ʿAtīq is misspelt *عتيك*, instead of the correct form *عتيق*.

⁵¹According to the accepted tradition Abū Bakr ruled from 12 Rabīʿ I 11 (7 June 632) until 22 Jumādā II 13 (23 August 634).

months,⁵² in the seventh year [of his reign]⁵³ Caesarea was captured. He was killed by a man named Abū Lu'lu'a,⁵⁴ who was the slave of a great (?) man.⁵⁵ After him rose 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān; he ruled for twelve years⁵⁶ and was killed. After that dissent broke out among the Muslims,⁵⁷ and they remained in dissent for four years and nine months.⁵⁸ After that Mu'āwiya [208] ibn Abī Sufyān rose to power and ruled for twenty years and eight months.⁵⁹ After Mu'āwiya rose his son, who ruled four months and died.⁶⁰ After him rose Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam, who ruled four months and died.⁶¹ After him rose 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr,⁶² who ruled eight years and five

⁵²I.e. from 634 until 644. There are indeed a further seven months in addition to the ten years from 22 Jumādā II (23 August 634) to 26 Dhū l-Hijja 23 (4 November 644).

⁵³This is the accepted version of the date according to the *fuṭūḥ* traditions; see above, p. 29 n. 129.

⁵⁴This is Abū Lu'lu'a Fayrūz al-Nihāwandī, who was taken prisoner by the Byzantines during the war with Persia and later captured by the Muslims. See al-Ṭabarī, I, 2632. He was the slave of al-Mughīra ibn Shu'ba and assassinated 'Umar because the caliph refused his request for a reduction of his tax. See al-Ṭabarī, I, 2722; also *EI* 2, s.v. "Abū Lu'lu'a", "al-Mughīra ibn Shu'ba".

⁵⁵Ms. *عبد لرجل قيساري*. This last word appears in all the other Mss. simply as *قيساري*, which cannot mean "from Caesarea" since there is no evidence connecting al-Mughīra to this city; perhaps the correct sense of the word is "Caesar-like", i.e. "eminent" or "great".

⁵⁶23 Dhū l-Hijja 23 (31 October 644)–17 Dhū l-Hijja 35 (15 June 656), i.e. indeed twelve years.

⁵⁷This refers to the struggle between 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and Mu'āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān between 35/656 and ca. 39/660 known as the great *fitna*, which ended in Mu'āwiya's victory following the battle of Ṣiffīn. See G.R. Hawting, *The First Dynasty of Islam* (Carbondale, 1987), pp. 24–33.

⁵⁸This would be December 660–January 661. The chronology here is somewhat vague, but this falls within reasonable limits. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 30.

⁵⁹Since the date of the beginning of his reign is not clear cut, it is difficult to determine how accurate this information is. According to this he reigned from Dhū l-Qa'da 39 (March–April 660) to Rajab 60 (April 680).

⁶⁰The author seems to have skipped the reign of Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiya from Rajab 60 (April 680) to 14 Rabī' I 64 (11 November 683), according to al-Ṭabarī, II, 428. The caliph who ruled for four months is Mu'āwiya ibn Yazīd, for the length of whose reign there are conflicting reports. Al-Ṭabarī (II, 432) cites two versions: one reporting three months, and the other forty days.

⁶¹He in fact ruled for nine or ten months, from 3 Dhū l-Qa'da 64 (22 June 684) until Ramaḍān 65 (April–May 685); see al-Ṭabarī, II, 473, 577.

⁶²It is interesting to note that 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr is presented here as a legitimate ruler; this is unusual, although there are similar cases in Muslim historiography. See, for example, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *Duwal al-Islām* (Hyderabad, AH 1364), I,

months.⁶³ After him rose 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam, who ruled thirteen years and six months⁶⁴ and died. After him rose al-Walīd, his son, who ruled nine years and seven months.⁶⁵ Then rose Sulaymān, his brother, who ruled two years and eight months.⁶⁶ Then rose 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, who ruled two years and six months.⁶⁷ Then rose Yazīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān, who ruled four years.⁶⁸ Then rose his brother Hishām,⁶⁹ who ruled nineteen years and eight months.⁷⁰ After him rose al-Walīd ibn Yazīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik, who ruled one year and three months;⁷¹ after him rose Yazīd al-Nāqīṣ ("the defective")⁷² ibn al-Walīd, who ruled five

31, claiming that at that time there were two caliphs, and that 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr was the greater of the two. The inclusion of Ibn Zubayr's name here could either be due to the fact that the Samaritans accepted his rule without question, or that the author's information originates in a Muslim source favorable to Ibn Zubayr.

⁶³'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr acted as caliph in Mecca from 15 Rabī' II 64 (13 December 683) until 17 Jumādā I 73 (4 October 692), which comes to nine years and one month.

⁶⁴According to Islamic tradition he ruled from 27 Ramaḍān 65 (7 May 685) until the middle of Shawwāl 86 (first half of October 705), therefore, in fact, 21 years and one month, according to the Muslim calendar.

⁶⁵Al-Walīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik ruled from 14 Shawwāl 86 (8 October 705) until the middle of Jumādā II 96 (late February 715), that is, nine years and eight months, according to the Muslim calendar. But al-Ṭabarī himself (II, 1269–70) cites a version which counts the length of his caliphate as nine years and seven months.

⁶⁶Sulaymān ibn 'Abd al-Malik ruled from 15 Jumādā II 96 (25 February 715) until 19 Ṣafar 99 (1 October 717), two years and eight months less five days, according to al-Ṭabarī, II, 1336.

⁶⁷'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz ruled from Ṣafar 99 (10 September 717) until 20–25 Rajab 101 (5–10 February 720), that is, two years and five months. See al-Ṭabarī, II, 1361–62.

⁶⁸Ruled from the end of Rajab 101 (February 720) until 26 Sha'bān 105 (28 January 724), that is, just about four years and one month.

⁶⁹Ms. *هشام*, instead of *هاشم*.

⁷⁰This is Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik, who ruled from the end of Sha'bān 105 (end of January 724) until 6 Rabī' II 125 (6 February 743). Al-Ṭabarī (II, 1728) cites several versions concerning the length of his reign.

⁷¹Al-Walīd reigned from 6 Rabī' II 125 (6 February 743) until 27 Jumādā II 126 (15 April 744), that is, one year, two months and 21 days. Still, al-Ṭabarī (II, 1810) also cites a tradition of one year and three months.

⁷²There are two explanations concerning this title, one referring to the fact that he cut down on the people's pensions, and the other claiming that he was physically defective. For the sources explaining this title see Carole Hillenbrand, trans., *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXVI, *The Waning of the Umayyad Caliphate* (Albany, 1989), p. 126 n. 628.

The *Continuatio*'s knowledge of the title again raises the question of sources (cf. p. 49–50 n. 32 above), since criticism of Yazīd was an internal matter among Muslims that

months.⁷³ Then rose his brother Ibrāhīm, who ruled two months and eleven days.⁷⁴ Then rose Marwān ibn Muḥammad, the last of Banū Umayya, who ruled five years and two months.⁷⁵ All [the years] since the [beginning of the] rule of Islam until this time were 131 years and three months.⁷⁶

[209] In the days of Marwān a tremendous earthquake struck everywhere.⁷⁷ The houses came down upon their inhabitants and innumerable people perished; it was an immense earthquake, such as had never before been seen. Those of the people who survived remained outdoors for many days, because the earth kept moving and stirring beneath them. When God in His mercy willed that it should be so,⁷⁸ the people entered the cities and calmed themselves. After this, Banū 'Abbās behaved in an unruly manner towards⁷⁹ Banū Umayya, and came forth in order to confront them in bat-

Samaritans in and around Nablus were unlikely to know first-hand. But Theophanes already refers to it in his *Chronographia*, I, 418:17. On his access to Arabic sources via the Syriac chronicle of Theophilus of Edessa, see Lawrence I. Conrad, "Theophanes and the Arabic Historical Tradition: Some Indications of Intercultural Transmission", *BF* 15 (1990), pp. 1–44, esp. p. 29 on the epithet *al-nāqīs*.

⁷³Yazīd ibn al-Walīd died in Dhū l-Hijja 126 (October 744), that is, six months after his father's death. However, al-Ṭabarī also cites (II, 1874) a version citing five months and two days.

⁷⁴Al-Ṭabarī's main sources report that he reigned for four months; however, he also cites a version (II, 1875) reporting that his reign lasted 70 nights, which would be equivalent to two months and eleven days.

⁷⁵Marwān was given the *bay'a* in Ṣafar 127 (December 744) and was killed in Egypt on Dhū l-Hijja 132 (July 750); this comes to five years and nine months. See *EI*², s.v. "Marwān II"; F. Omar, *The Abbasid Caliphate* (Baghdad, 1969), pp. 126–27. See also al-Ṭabarī, III, 51, where the date of the *bay'a* is not stated. Five years and two months would be Rabī' II 132/November 749, the date by which the armies of the Hāshimīya had managed to undermine Umayyad rule in Persia and Iraq, allowing for the proclamation of the 'Abbāsid caliphate in al-Kūfa.

⁷⁶Abū l-'Abbās 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abbās al-Saffāh, the first 'Abbāsid caliph, was sworn in, according to al-Ṭabarī, III, 23, on 13 Rabī' I 132 (31 October 749), which is the third month of AH 132. Al-Ṭabarī cites two other traditions claiming that it occurred in Rabī' II or Jumādā I.

⁷⁷The sources disagree about the exact date of this earthquake, on which see Gil, *History of Palestine*, pp. 89–90 and additional references there; on the date see also Y. Tsafir and G. Foerster, "The Dating of the 'Earthquake of the Sabbatical Year' of 749 CE in Palestine", *BSOAS* 55 (1992), pp. 231–35; I. Karcz and A. Elad, "Further Comments on the 'Sabbatical Year' Earthquake", *Tarbiz* 61 (1992), pp. 67–83.

⁷⁸Ms. ... ولما أراد الله ... Cf. Vilmar, p. 181:4–5: ولما أراد الله الهدوء برحمته دخلوا الناس إلى المدن وهدءوا نفوسهم.

⁷⁹For this sense of *ṭajār* see Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire*, I, 247.

tle. There was discord among the Muslims, some of them siding with Banū l-'Abbās while others sided with Banū Umayya, and a great and terrible war broke out between them. This was the war known as the "War of the Blacks" (*ḥarb al-kūshīyīn*).⁸⁰ Those who supported Banū Umayya were defeated, and were killed in a place...⁸¹ [by] a man from Khurāsān known as Abū Muslim,⁸² who had with him many troops. He rose in order to assist Banū l-'Abbās, until he seized the reign from Banū Umayya for them.⁸³ He confronted Marwān and defeated him, and Marwān was put to flight until he arrived in Egypt. Abū Muslim's men caught up with him and killed him in Egypt, taking his head⁸⁴ after⁸⁵ he had reigned for five years.⁸⁶ They returned and arrived [in Iraq], and Abū Muslim passed the rule to Banū l-'Abbās, who were of Banū Hāshim.

At that time the kingdom of Banū l-'Abbās became established [210] [as a] strong and mighty kingdom. They doubled the tax upon the land (*kharāj*) and raised the poll tax⁸⁷ and made its burden heavier; they levied *waṣṣriya*

⁸⁰Kūshīyīn apparently comes from the Samaritan Aramaic כושיי = "blacks", pertaining to the black dress and banners which the 'Abbāsid dynasty adopted as its symbolic colour. See M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic in the Byzantine Period* (Ramat Gan, 1990), p. 254, s.v. כושיי, esp. the reference to the Christo-Palestinian Aramaic dialect, which was very close to the Samaritan Aramaic dialect. Concerning the importance of the black colour in the 'Abbāsid revolution, see M. Sharon, *Black Banners from the East II: Revolt—The Social and Military Aspects of the Abbasid Revolution* (Jerusalem, 1990), pp. 79–86.

⁸¹Here something seems to be missing in the text. Vilmar's text, p. 181:9–10, does not seem to be correct either, since قتلوا في مكان خراسان في رجل seems quite awkward and illogical. It is more probable to suppose that some words are missing here, e.g.: قتلوا في مكان [يسمى ... على يد] رجل من خراسان يعرف [بـ] أبي مسلم. In this case, the Paris Ms. would be more accurate.

⁸²Ms. ابوا مسلم.

⁸³Abū Muslim, a freedman of Persian origin, was indeed the central figure in the 'Abbāsid revolution that started in Khurāsān. See *EI*², s.v. "Abū Muslim".

⁸⁴For the story of Marwān's flight and defeat see al-Ṭabarī, III, 45–51; Abū Zakariyā' al-Azdī, *Ta'rikh al-Mawṣil*, ed. 'A. Ḥabiba (Cairo, 1967), pp. 133–37. For a description of the events see Omar, *The Abbasid Caliphate*, pp. 126–27. The story about his head being cut off and sent to Abū l-'Abbās appears both in al-Ṭabarī, III, 50; and in al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, ed. M.Th. Houtsma (Leiden, 1883), II, 414–15. See also Omar, *ibid.*, who cites Ibn 'Aṭham al-Kūfī, *Kitāb al-futūḥ*.

⁸⁵Ms. بعدا ملك. Cf. Vilmar, p. 181:12: بعدا ان ملك.

⁸⁶See above, p. 56 n. 75.

⁸⁷The word used here is *jāliya*, a term equivalent to *jizya*. Vilmar, p. 181:15, reads:

(?)⁸⁸ from all their provinces and afflicted the people with it, levying the money and collecting it assiduously.

After Marwān rose 'Abd Allāh, known as al-'Abbās, of Banū Hāshim, and he reigned four years and eight months.⁸⁹ After him rose his brother, known as Abū Ja'far,⁹⁰ who sent to Palestine a ruler⁹¹ known as 'Abd al-Wahhāb,⁹² who was called Abū Shindī, and he afflicted the people much. . . .⁹³ 'Abd al-Wahhāb despatched (?)⁹⁴ [a message] to the governor of Nablus (Nābulus)⁹⁵ [ordering] that he should burn the place of worship (lit. *qibla*) which Zeno, may his bones be ground to dust and no mercy [be upon him], built on the

وزادوا الجور على الرعية (sic!), "and they increased the injustice upon the non-Muslim subjects". On the term *jāliya* see F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation in the Classic Period* (Copenhagen, 1950), pp. 140–41.

⁸⁸This is an unclear word. *Waṣr* is a contract or certificate of land ownership; see Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire*, II, 1547. Perhaps *waṣriya* is a payment levied for the provision of such a certificate; I could not, however, find any verification of this assumption. Vilmar's text skips this sentence.

⁸⁹See above, p. 56 n. 76. Four years and eight months, according to the tradition that he ascended on 13 Rabī' II.

⁹⁰This is the second 'Abbāsid caliph, Abū Ja'far 'Abd Allāh al-Manṣūr ibn Muḥammad, who reigned from 136/754 to 158/775.

⁹¹The term used here is *sultān*.

⁹²This is 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Ibrāhīm al-Imām ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib ibn Hāshim al-Hāshimī, al-Manṣūr's nephew, who was appointed by him to the post of governor of Syria and Palestine. Ibn 'Asākir relates a tradition in the name of Muḥammad ibn Samā'a al-Filastīnī that 'Abd al-Wahhāb destroyed Palestine. According to Muḥammad ibn Samā'a, al-Manṣūr invited two functionaries from Palestine and asked them about 'Abd al-Wahhāb's rule; the first replied that although al-Manṣūr had given him the best contract ever given to anyone holding such a post, he continuously violated all the caliph's instructions, while the other replied, saying: "Your nephew left the land like this bird," and taking a plucked bird out of his sleeve. See Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh madīnat Dimashq* (Amman, 1989), XXXVII, 301–302 (= Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar ta'rikh madīnat Dimashq*, Damascus 1988, XV, 270–72); see also al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, III, pp. 127–28; Khalifa ibn Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, ed. A.D. al-'Umarī (Baghdad, 1967), pp. 445, 451, 454.

⁹³Ms. *وخيا نسله يرا لا نوع*: the phrase is incomprehensible.

⁹⁴Ms. *و بحلا*, which is unclear, but apparently a verb in the imperfect tense. Vilmar, p. 182:1, has *أرسل*.

⁹⁵Ms. *متولى نابلس*.

mountain, from where the well of the Samaritans⁹⁶ could be observed;⁹⁷ this happened⁹⁸ (?) so that he would [have cause to] collect money from them on account of its burning.⁹⁹ A group of men were [there] alone at night, and they burnt it; they burnt the church whose light the Byzantines used to see at night,¹⁰⁰ and they killed five monks there. The Christians went around saying: "None but the Samaritans has burnt it!" Abū Shindī sent [an order], and the *ra'īs* was seized. There was a man there of Banū Nasāyta (?)¹⁰¹ whose name was Yahnī (?)¹⁰² ibn al-Malik; he besought him concerning the matter [211] of the *ra'īs*, and he released him into his custody. He¹⁰³ seized

⁹⁶Ms. *الجب السامرة*; Vilmar, p. 182:3, reads: *الجب السامرة*. This would be Jacob's Well, near Nablus. According to Samaritan tradition Joseph's tomb (*helqat hasadeh*) was located nearby; in Zeno's days (see following note) the place was already considered a holy Christian site commemorating the meeting between Jesus and the Samaritan woman. See Geographical Appendix, s.v. 'Askar; cf. also below, n. 100.

⁹⁷The events mentioned here are described earlier in the text. See Vilmar, pp. 180–82; Stenhouse, trans., pp. 240–41. After the Samaritan rebellion of 484, the emperor Zeno confiscated Samaritan places of worship on and around Mount Gerizim and established churches in their place. On top of the mount he consecrated a church to the Virgin Mary; a high tower with a signalling device was annexed to the church. For a summary of these events, see A.D. Crown, "The Byzantine and Moslem Period", in Crown, *Samaritans*, pp. 71–73.

⁹⁸Ms. *وحدث*; cf. Vilmar, p. 182:3, which has *وحدث*.

⁹⁹It would have been very easy indeed to blame this subterfuge on the Samaritans, who had a long record of attacking and damaging Christian sites in their vicinity.

¹⁰⁰Vilmar, p. 182:6, adds: *من المدن*, "from the cities". See above, n. 97. The fact that this church, dedicated to St. Mary, continued to exist throughout the Muslim period and into the Crusader period is not attested elsewhere. All the sources referring to Nablus and to the see that continued to exist there during the early Muslim period mention the church located over Jacob's Well, where, according to tradition, Jesus met the Samaritan woman. See, for example, the *Commematorium de Casis Dei vel Monasteriis*, in T. Tobler and A. Molinier, *Itinera Hierosolymitana et descriptiones Terrae Sanctae* (Geneva, 1879), II, 302; the pilgrim Arculf (670s CE) in J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims* (Jerusalem, 1977), p. 108; the pilgrim Willibald (726 CE), *ibid.*, p. 132. See also the *taktikon* published by G. Palamas in *A Short History of the Holy City of Jerusalem* (Jerusalem, 1862), 376–82 (in Greek).

¹⁰¹Other readings are: *نسابة*, *نسابة*, and *نسايانا*: see Vilmar, p. 182:8. The same is true for the additional Mss. checked.

¹⁰²Or Yhyī: see Vilmar, *ibid.* The identity of this person is not clear. L.C. suggests that the name be read as *يحيى*.

¹⁰³It is not clear whether this refers back to 'Abd al-Wahhāb, in which case it is a more detailed account of the short report given previously, describing more fully how the *ra'īs* was seized and how he was freed; or, alternatively, whether it refers to this Yhnī (Yahyā

the *ra'īs*, who was¹⁰⁴ Absabī ibn Dartā, who was invested with authority over the people; he afflicted him, shaved his head and set his fine at 3000 *dīnārs*. The Samaritans helped him, and he procured¹⁰⁵ [the money] and went free. In the days of the *ra'īs* Qarī Sabā¹⁰⁶ and the *ra'īs* Absabī¹⁰⁷ the domed building¹⁰⁸ was burnt down.

[Abū] Ja 'far ruled 22 years.¹⁰⁹ After him rose his son, who was called Muḥammad al-Mahdī, who ruled for ten years and a month and died.¹¹⁰ After him rose his son, whose name was Mūsā,¹¹¹ and who reigned for one year and two months¹¹² and then died.

After this the *ra'īs* Qarī Sabā passed away,¹¹³ and his son Nethan'el, who was a young boy, was appointed as his successor. Therefore, his nephew rose and was given the authority to rule the community.¹¹⁴ He did not have the great Hebrew computation¹¹⁵ with him, and instead he used the Greek computation.¹¹⁶ He remained [in office] seven years and died, and his son

?) who freed the *ra'īs*, only to take him into his own custody and collect the fine from the Samaritans.

¹⁰⁴The text is unclear here. It may include an unnecessary repetition: واخذ الرئيس واخذه

... وهو.

¹⁰⁵For this sense of قام see Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 422.

¹⁰⁶Ms. قري سبا. Cf. Vilmar, p. 182:12, reading قراسبا.

¹⁰⁷Ms. وابسي, but the و here seems to be redundant. Cf. Vilmar, p. 182:12.

¹⁰⁸Ms. قبة. It is not clear what building is referred to here, whether a local Samaritan shrine or perhaps a Muslim or Christian shrine.

¹⁰⁹From 13 Dhū l-Hijja 136 (9 June 754) to 6 Dhū l-Hijja 158 (7 October 775).

¹¹⁰18 Dhū l-Hijja 158 (19 October 754) to 22 Muḥarram 169 (4 August 785), indeed ten years and one month. See al-Ṭabarī, III, 451.

¹¹¹Abū Muḥammad Mūsā al-Hādī ibn al-Mahdī.

¹¹²From 22 Muḥarram 169 (4 August 785) to 16 Rabī' I 170 (15 September 786), indeed a year and two months.

¹¹³Ms. انتقل الى رحمة الله, presumably in the sense of انتقل.

¹¹⁴For this sense of حكم في see Lane, *Lexicon*, I.2, 616.

¹¹⁵Ms. الحساب العبراني الكبير, probably referring to the Samaritan calculation system

called חשבון קשטה, "true reckoning", or מחשב הימים, "reckoning of the days". According to this system, the beginning of the lunar month is not based on observation like the Muslim month, but is calculated by conjunction of the sun with the moon. The absence of this calculation means that precise dates in the Samaritan calendar cannot be calculated.

See Powels, "The Samaritan Calendar", pp. 703–704.

¹¹⁶Ms. الحساب الرومي: this refers to the Julian calendar, which was used in order to

Yazīd rose after him in his place; he had no computation other than the one that his father had had, and he did not know how to add to it.¹¹⁷ Then Nethan'el, son of Qarī Sabā, who had the correct Hebrew computation, rose in opposition to him, and they advertised¹¹⁸ two papers, [one of] Nethan'el and [one of] Qaraqalā.¹¹⁹ They were in a state of disagreement with one another, and the Samaritans fell into a great dissension over them, some being with Qaraqalā¹²⁰ and others with Nethan'el. They advertised [212] two papers [fixing the date] for the fast, Nethan'el's paper [prescribing] Monday and Qaraqalā's paper [prescribing] Tuesday. Half of the people of the villages supported one, while the other half supported the other. Those who were with Nethan'el fasted on Monday, and those who were with Qaraqalā fasted on Tuesday, and for everyone who fasted [on one day] there was another who did the contrary.¹²¹ The Samaritans were greatly distressed by this matter, and the leaders of the Samaritans came together to the *ra'īs* Dartā and asked him: "How can the Samaritans be rid of this great misfortune?" [He replied:] "Look for men who are knowledgeable and fearful of God, may He be exalted, who will enter [into the matter] and will examine [the evidence] in favour of this [side] and that [side], and wherever the truth shall be found, we shall all uphold it." [So] Dartā chose four men, two who were followers of one and two who were followers of the other, and made them swear that they would not treat the truth lightly, wherever it might be; he told them that those who know it and reject¹²² it would take upon themselves the sin of the world, and [that] "you will discover the truth among them."¹²³ He who has the truth on his side will have the whole nation with him." [So] they entered [into the matter] and inquired and found that the truth was with Nethan'el. All the

reckon the beginning of the year (*ibid.*, pp. 707–708). This would mean that he could determine the beginning of the year using the Muslim and Julian calendars, but could not correctly reckon the months according to the Samaritan system.

¹¹⁷It seems that the text should read احسن rather than حسن. Presumably, he did not know how to convert dates correctly to the Samaritan calendar.

¹¹⁸The verb used is اخرج. For this sense see Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 358.

¹¹⁹Ms. ومرفلا. At the first occurrence of this name, the copyist seems to have been baffled and did not know where to place the points. This changes, however, in the next page to a definite reading of Qaraqalā.

¹²⁰The scribe erred at first and the name therefore appears corrected in the margins.

¹²¹Here the text reads: ولكن صام عملوا الاخر في ضده.

¹²²Ms. يريدون, but more plausible is Vilmar, p. 183:13, reading يردون.

¹²³I.e. among the four witnesses.

people endorsed him¹²⁴ and confirmed that the course¹²⁵ of his leadership was in accordance with the truth.

[213] During the year in which Nethan'el rose, there rose after him Mūsa, brother of Hārūn son of al-Mahdī of Banū Hāshim.¹²⁶ In his days there was a huge [swarm of] locusts, the like of which had never before been seen, and it ate all the vegetation and all the plants of the earth; it multiplied¹²⁷ upon the land, and its offspring emerged and covered the face of the earth from the sea to the Jordan [River]. It ate all of the vegetation and the plants on the land; nothing remained on the face of the earth, and the land was left barren.¹²⁸ The following year a dispute broke out amongst the Muslims, and there was great slaughter amongst them and of them;¹²⁹ they split into two factions, one called the Mudarānīm and the other ... (?),¹³⁰ and fought each other with great enmity and killed each other without mercy.¹³¹ The Samaritans

¹²⁴For this sense of *معه* see Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 735.

¹²⁵The text here has *وبسیرن امامته*, which seems corrupt; Vilmar, p. 183:16, has *وسيرة امامته*.

¹²⁶See above, p. 60 nn. 111–12.

¹²⁷Ms. *اشرص*, “multiplied”, “bred”, as in Hebrew and Aramaic. Cf. below, Ms. p. 257:8.

¹²⁸A locust attack that started in 784 is described by Michael the Syrian. According to him this was a pernicious attack that started in Edessa and Sarug, from whence it passed on to the Jazīra and afterwards to the West, where it devoured all the vegetation, including the cereals, vines and trees. It may well be that although this attack started in the days of al-Mahdī, it reached what Michael the Syrian (*Chronique*, III, 4) calls “the West” in the days of Mūsā al-Hādī.

¹²⁹Ms. *وقتل منهم قتل عظيم*. Cf. Vilmar, p. 184:3–4.

¹³⁰The names of the factions appear in the Paris Ms. only, and are omitted in Vilmar. The first name, although misspelt, seems to refer to the Muḍarīya; the second name is written *بسیس*, and it is clear that the scribe did not know how to read it himself. It may be Yamanīyīn; see following note.

¹³¹This is actually the feud, or *fitna*, known as the “War of the Watermelon”, which was part of a long series of outbreaks during the period under discussion between tribal factions known as the Nizārīya or Muḍarīya on the one hand, and the Yamanīya on the other. See P. von Sivers, “Military, Merchants and Nomads: the Social Evolution and the Syrian Cities and Countryside during the Classical Period 780–969,” *Der Islam* 56 (1979), pp. 220ff. For a detailed description of this outbreak and its causes, see Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī l-ta'rīkh* (Beirut, 1965), VI, 127–28. The main part of this war took place around 176/792–93; see *ibid.*; al-Ṭabarī, III, 624–26. Al-Ṭabarī mentions tribal enmity in Palestine and some skirmishes already in 174/790–91. See also Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-zāhira fī mulūk Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira* (Cairo, 1929–72), I, 67–68, who mentions the year 171/787–78 as the year of the outbreak. Both Ibn al-Athīr and al-Ṭabarī emphasize that many people were killed during the course of this war.

and the others who lived in their vicinity were in great and fearful difficulty, [since] they entered the villages and plundered crops,¹³² gold, silver, copper and woollen clothing. And so the written curse had come upon us: “Your ox shall be slain before your eyes and you shall not eat of it”,¹³³ and the rest of the curse (lit. the whole curse). The people fled, and their villages were left empty because of the punishment and affliction that came upon them. If they caught a woman they did to her what the people of Sodom did; they brought [214] upon the people an affliction that could not be averted (?),¹³⁴ and the people stayed in the mountains and in the caves, after they had been deprived of all their belongings and had been left destitute¹³⁵ of everything.¹³⁶ Of the notables, he who had [someone] who would join him¹³⁷ gave him his money in exchange for his protection, while people who had no companion remained wandering in the mountains, caves, and wadis. When [the raiders] would enter, they would come upon nothing without taking it.¹³⁸ They burned the houses and the seed grain,¹³⁹ and did not leave anything unburnt, [so that] the whole region was reduced to ruin. They remained so about a year, and God made good on His vow¹⁴⁰ and scattered¹⁴¹ them.

¹³²Ms. *الغلال*; read *الغلال*.

¹³³Deuteronomy 28:31.

¹³⁴Ms. *بلا لا نخب*. Cf. Vilmar, p. 184:10–11: *ودخل على الناس منهم بلایا ونکبة*, “and they brought upon the people trials and affliction”.

¹³⁵Ms. *وبقیوا عرایا من کل شیء*; cf. Vilmar, p. 184:12: *وبقیوا کاشفین* = *وبقیوا کشف*.

¹³⁶The harsh consequences that this war had for the local non-Muslim inhabitants are described in detail in a contemporary Christian hagiographical composition called the *Passion of the Twenty Martyrs*. The author of the passion speaks of a ferocious tribal war which broke out between some of the most noble Arab tribes in Palestine. The effects of this war were devastating: the roads became unsafe, town dwellers fled, leaving important towns like Eleuthropolis, Ascalon and Gaza deserted, and there were robberies, looting and fires everywhere. For the Greek text see the edition by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus in *Pravoslavni Palestinski Sbornik* 57 (1907), pp. 1–41.

¹³⁷The text is somewhat garbled here: *ومن کان له من کبار منهم کان یستند الیه یعطیه* ... *ومن کان له من الکبار منهم من یستند الیه یعطیه ماله* ... cf. Vilmar, p. 184:13–14.

¹³⁸The text here has: *الا یصیبوا شیء یاخذوه*, which seems corrupt. The correct reading is probably: *ولا یصیبوا شیء الا یاخذوه*.

¹³⁹Ms. *الدور والبذور*; read *الدور والبذور*. Cf. Vilmar, p. 184:15: *الدور والبذور*. The reading *الدور*, “houses”, which appears in our text, seems to be preferable here.

¹⁴⁰Ms. *تصدق*, form V used in the sense of I (L.C.).

¹⁴¹Ms. *افرق*, form IV instead of I.

The next year a great rise in prices came upon the people, and a merciless calamity took place. They had already been stripped bare from without and from within:¹⁴² from without [by] locusts, and from within by the enemy. Furthermore,¹⁴³ they took pains in order to secure the *jizya*, and the curse was fulfilled: "And you shall be delivered¹⁴⁴ into your enemies' hands."¹⁴⁵ Under Kisrā¹⁴⁶ the price of bread increased and the people suffered terrible hunger until satiety was forgotten, as is said [in the Scriptures]: "And you shall eat, and you will not be satisfied."¹⁴⁷

It was said that a woman ate her son in a village called Arba'. The baby died, and when he passed away she took him, cut him up into pieces and cooked him. [215] Some people entered and saw his hand emerging from the cooking pot, and said to her: "What are you cooking?" She replied to them: "A hedgehog." They said to her: "Where did you get a hedgehog?" Looking into the cooking pot and detecting human flesh, they said to her: "What is this terrible calamity?" She said that her son had died, and that she took him and cooked him in order to eat him because of [her] gnawing hunger. The woman was a bedouin Arab who lived there.

God delivered unto the people extinction and death.¹⁴⁸ O, how many died on the road and were not buried! And the road (?) turned into a graveyard.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴²The script here is somewhat unclear: قد انكشفوا من برا ومن داخل (cf. Vilmar, p. 184:18–19).

¹⁴³Ms. وابعد ويكدو في طلب الجزية (sic); cf. Vilmar, p. 184:19: وبعد.

¹⁴⁴Ms. وتصيرو; read تصيرو.

¹⁴⁵Deuteronomy 28:48.

¹⁴⁶Presumably the name of a provincial or local official. Kisrā was a common Persian name; see F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* (Marburg, 1895), pp. 134–39.

¹⁴⁷Micha 6:14.

¹⁴⁸A devastating plague that occurred at the beginning of the caliphate of Hārūn al-Rashīd (r. 170/786–193/809) is mentioned by al-Balādhūrī, who says that the plague was so deadly that at times it wiped out whole households. As a result, lands and fields left uncultivated were redistributed by the caliph. See al-Balādhūrī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, p. 158; also p. 144.

¹⁴⁹Ms. وصارت الخاطي قبه, which is surely corrupt. Vilmar's text, p. 185:10, reads: وصارت السكة قبورا. قبه may be an error for مقبره or قبور; الخاطي is perhaps a distorted form of خط, "main road", or خطّة, a "region" or "district". L.C. suggests that the sentence may be read: وصارت للخطي قبه, taking the implied subject to be السكك or الطرق and reading الخاطي as a colloquial form of الخاطئ, "sinner"; in this case the translation would be: "And [the roads] became the sinner's grave".

Mothers would dig pits and place ten or five [children] in them because they could not manage to bury [them separately]. So many of the Samaritans and the priests died and were not mourned as they should have been, or buried properly.¹⁵⁰ So many sons became separated from their fathers, and fathers separated from their sons, and they died without one knowing the condition of the other, whether he was hungry or dead. The appearance¹⁵¹ of the people changed, and not a father remained who asked about his son, nor a son who asked about his father, nor a brother about his brother, and matters became worse and worse. Woe to him who saw this calamity with his own eyes, and blessed be he who is tried and is rescued from his trial and achieves relief.

[216] After this God extended His mercy and alleviated [the suffering]; He lifted [His] wrath from [His] servants, and sent prosperity upon the earth and satisfied the people, and the people ate and were satiated. Those few people who survived and went up to the mountain¹⁵² on the Feast of Tabernacles (*'id al-mizāl*) that was [celebrated] after the year of the perdition were like those who congregate in a small village synagogue.

After that, ...¹⁵³ ... the farmer [returned] crying, and there was much vegetation...¹⁵⁴ and he did not have any beasts, and the people were crying

¹⁵⁰The following sentence is added in Vilmar, p. 185:14: الا البعض يدفن في حفيرة

; تراب من غير قبر ولا خشاب; for خشاب read خشب, "a wooden case" (Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 372), thus: "only a few [had the privilege] to be buried, [and this] in an earthen trench because there was no [proper] grave or a wooden coffin". Another version appears in BL Or. 1447, fol. 90v: من غير حجارة, "for lack of stones". For evidence of burial in wooden coffins in Palestine, see, for example, G. Hadas, "Nine Tombs of the Second Temple Period at 'Ein Gedi", *Atiqot* 24 (1994), English abstract, pp. 1*–9*; Hebrew, pp. 1–75.

¹⁵¹Ms. سحن, presumably an error or a plural of سحنة, "external appearance", "looks", "complexion". Cf. Ms. p. 253:1–2: وتغيرت صور الناس من المرض.

¹⁵²There is a superfluous repetition here of the phrase: والقليل من الناس. Cf. Vilmar, p. 186:2–3, bearing: ... كانوا مثل ما الجبل ...

¹⁵³Here there is a gap in the middle of the page of six lines. The following section appears only in Vilmar's text, p. 186:4–7, and is missing, in this form, in the Paris Ms., which bears, however, other additional material on this event: "... the rain arrived and mercy came, and the farmer returned [to his land] crying, because he did not have any beasts or seeds; and the seeds which he brought from the distant places, he ploughed with his shoulders, and with donkeys and mules; and they ploughed with the rest of the beasts." Here ends Vilmar's edition. From here onwards the text is attested only by the Paris manuscript Sam. 10, with no known parallels to the text.

¹⁵⁴Ms. والعشب كان كثير داجن. The last word, داجن, is not clear in this context. "Rain"

continuously (?),¹⁵⁵ and they fasted on Mondays and Thursdays. The nation's elders wrote to the Samaritans everywhere, and they came before God and offered up a great prayer; this happened on the mountain [217] on the first day of the month which was after the holiday of the seventh month.¹⁵⁶ The letters of the *ra'īs* reached¹⁵⁷ the villages, and the people went up to the mountain on Sunday, and there was a great prayer. On Monday and on Tuesday there was a great wail,¹⁵⁸ and the small children cried out and said: "O God of our righteous fathers, lift this affliction from us." And the Lord God, may He be exalted, heard their call for assistance with the invocation of the fathers, and He lifted the perdition from them, and removed the anger through His benevolence,¹⁵⁹ because He is God, full of benevolence, and is prone to mercy¹⁶⁰ and does not seek [to vent His] anger. The people could not pass along the roads [218] because of the stench of the corpses, until their bodies changed because of the smell.¹⁶¹ Even though the plague was lifted from the cattle, people became fatigued as a result of the threshing; they could not obtain anything with which they could thresh, and they had to resort to threshing with donkeys, camels and other beasts,¹⁶² and the same

(see Lane, *Lexicon*, I.3, 854; Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 425) would indeed be quite logical here if we are to assume that the syntax of the sentence is corrupt. Another possibility is "cereals", from the Hebrew *dagan*, which was adopted also by Samaritan Arabic, as evidenced by the trilingual Samaritan biblical glossary (Hebrew, Aramaic, Arabic) *Hameliz*. For evidence of this see Z. Ben Hayyim, *The Literary and Oral Tradition of Hebrew and Aramaic amongst the Samaritans*, II (Jerusalem, 1957), p. 446.

¹⁵⁵The word here is unclear, and is written *بغبت* with double dotting of the *ghayn*. Read *بقيت*?

¹⁵⁶The Samaritans adhered to the biblical order and names of the months. The first month was therefore Nisan (= March–April), while the seventh was Tishrei (= September–October). The holiday of the seventh month would be the Feast of Tabernacles; the first day of the month afterwards would therefore be the beginning of Heshvan (October–November), the season when rain is again expected.

¹⁵⁷Ms. *ومضت وكتب الرئيس الى الضياع*; the *و* before *كتب* is redundant.

¹⁵⁸Here there is a gap of six and a half lines in the text, parallel to the one in the former page, although in this case there does not seem to be any text missing.

¹⁵⁹For this sense of *احسان* see Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire*, I, 128.

¹⁶⁰Compare *قريب الثرى*; see Lane, *Lexicon*, I.1, 336.

¹⁶¹According to Galenic humoral doctrine, which prevailed everywhere in the medieval Near East, foul smells can upset one's bodily constitution and lead to unhealthy changes and illness. Cf. the extensive discussion in R. Parker, *Miasma*, Oxford 1983 (L.C.).

¹⁶²As opposed to an ox, the beast usually used for threshing and plowing. The lack of oxen for agricultural tasks was similarly cumbersome during the days of Ibn Ṭūlūn.

was true in the case of sowing.¹⁶³ The earth became contaminated¹⁶⁴ and the curse was fulfilled for us, in His words: "I will annihilate your beasts, and so much of the earth shall remain barren because of the lack of beasts, and the earth shall be contaminated by the corpses of the beasts."¹⁶⁵

All of these hardships [came upon us] when we defied¹⁶⁶ our God, and all this took place in the days of Hārūn, the caliph of the Muslims, when the *ra'īs* was Nathan'el, the *imām* of Israel.¹⁶⁷

After this, when Hārūn al-Rashīd was on his deathbed, he summoned his three children Muḥammad [al-Amīn], 'Abd Allāh [al-Ma'mūn], and [al-]Qāsim, and divided his kingdom amongst them.¹⁶⁸ He allotted Khurāsān to 'Abd

¹⁶³See below, Ms. p. 251:5–7.

¹⁶⁴The verb used here is *تطمت*, an Arabicised version of the Hebrew root *נמט*, which appears also in the form *تطمأت*. See below, Ms. p. 249:10. It was adopted by the Samaritans from the Hebrew and thus does not appear in dictionaries of Arabic.

¹⁶⁵This seems to be a combination of two or more passages; most probably Nahum 3:3 or Lamentations 4:14, with Leviticus 26:22, 30, or Ezekiel 32:13ff.

¹⁶⁶Ms. *اعصينا*, form IV instead of I.

¹⁶⁷This ending is almost identical to the one at the end of Vilmar's text. See Vilmar, p. 186. A description of an almost identical series of events is found in a Latin document describing the conditions of the Christians in Palestine during this period. This includes three earthquakes (not described by our source, possibly because they did not reach Samaria), a severe attack of locusts, a plague, the Watermelon War, and the drought, all in a short period of time. We sincerely hope that Prof. A. Linder of the Hebrew University, who found several Mss. of this document quite some time ago, will choose to publish it.

¹⁶⁸Here follows a description of the succession arrangements made by Hārūn al-Rashīd, the main source for which is al-Ṭabarī, III, 651–67. The arrangements were in fact made by Hārūn on his *hajj* to Mecca in 186/802, and not on his deathbed, as reported here. During his stay in Mecca two documents were composed, attested in turn by al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn, which were deposited in the Ka'ba for safekeeping. In these documents it was stated that al-Amīn was to succeed Hārūn al-Rashīd, but that the empire would be divided between him and al-Ma'mūn, al-Amīn controlling the western part, while al-Ma'mūn would be in charge of the eastern part, i.e. from Khurāsān and eastwards. Al-Qāsim was to be in control of the border regions (*al-thughūr wa-l-'awāsim*); see al-Ṭabarī, III, 653. Al-Ma'mūn would succeed al-Amīn in his turn, while al-Qāsim would succeed al-Ma'mūn, if the latter did not decide otherwise (al-Ṭabarī, III, 667). It is probable that the provision for al-Qāsim was actually added only a few years later, in 805. See C.E. Bosworth, trans., *The History of al-Ṭabarī, XXX: The 'Abbāsid Caliphate* (Albany, 1989), pp. 184–85 n. 674, citing R.A. Kimber, "Hārūn al-Rashīd's Meccan Settlement of AH 186/AD 802," *University of St. Andrews, School of 'Abbāsid Studies, Occasional Papers* 1 (1986), pp. 55–79. On the subject of the succession, see F. Gabrieli, "La successione di Hārūn al-Rashīd e la guerra fra al-Amīn e al-Ma'mūn," *RSO* 11 (1926–28), pp. 341–97; H. Kennedy, *The Early*

Allāh, and from the border of Khurāsān onwards, all the land until Ifrīqiya,¹⁶⁹ he allotted to Muḥammad, and all of the coastline from one end to the other he allotted to [al-]Qāsim. He gave Muḥammad precedence as sovereign after him, [219] and ‘Abd Allāh after him and [al-]Qāsim after him, arranging them in this manner. He took¹⁷⁰ from them oaths and agreements and testimonies, and appointed chiefs (*mashāyikh*) throughout his kingdom¹⁷¹ so that after this pact and [in the case of] its breach it would be available for all the people to deliberate upon it,¹⁷² and upon his pact and his oath.¹⁷³ Hārūn ruled for 22 years and eleven months¹⁷⁴ and died.

His son Muḥammad took his place. He was neglectful of his kingdom¹⁷⁵ and adorned himself, cleaving to the boys,¹⁷⁶ dressing them as women,¹⁷⁷ adorning them with women’s ornaments, sleeping with them, and clinging to

¹⁶⁹*Abbāsīd Caliphate* (London, 1981), pp. 123–26.

¹⁶⁹North Africa, particularly the region which is today Tunisia.

¹⁷⁰Ms. *يعمل*, which seems to give no sense in this context.

¹⁷¹This probably refers to the letter written by Hārūn to all the provincial governors, which included a copy of the contract made in Mecca and ordered them to have the document read out loud and placed in their *diwān* and to report any incident regarding it. See al-Ṭabarī, III, 666.

¹⁷²For *على* *تساعد* see Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 654.

¹⁷³The verb here is unclear; read *يتروا*, in the sense of “consider” or “deliberate”. See Lane, *Lexicon*, I:3, 1195. This sentence, as it appears in the Ms., is somewhat problematic; the translation is therefore tentative.

¹⁷⁴According to the accepted tradition Hārūn ruled for 22 years, six months, and nine days, from 16 Rabī‘ I 170 (15 September 786) to 3 Jumādā II 193 (24 March 809). Although there are additional traditions (see al-Ṭabarī/Bosworth, *The ‘Abbāsīd Caliphate*, p. 303 n. 1022), they all fall within a month of the accepted date given by al-Ṭabarī, which is cited here.

¹⁷⁵The following information is attested by al-Ṭabarī, III, 804–805, who cites verses attributed to ‘Alī ibn ‘Isā concerning al-Amīn’s idleness, the central position of the different court functionaries, and the homosexual habits which prevailed in his court. See the translation by Michael Fishbein, in *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXXI: *The War Between Brothers* (Albany, 1992), pp. 58–59: “The Caliph’s active homosexuality (*liwāt*) is a marvel, even more marvellous than is the vizier’s passive homosexuality (*ḥulāq*). One of them buggers, the other gets buggered: such, by my life, is the difference of the cases...” ‘Alī then goes on to describe the scandal which arose in the royal court. See also T. El-Hibri, “The Regicide of the Caliph al-Amīn and the Challenge of Representation in Medieval Islamic Historiography,” *Arabica* 42 (1995), pp. 354–64.

¹⁷⁶Ms. *הנערים*, Hebrew in Samaritan script.

¹⁷⁷The Hebrew word for “women”, *הנשים*, appears here once in transliteration in Arabic script (l. 6), and once in Samaritan (l. 7).

them;¹⁷⁸ throughout his reign he used to rely upon the officials to manage it.¹⁷⁹ God became angry with him and lifted fear of him from the people, and they turned upon him; a state of great turmoil, conflict and disorder prevailed, and it is said that [it prevailed] everywhere. The whole time from the creation of Adam to the reign of Muḥammad ibn Hārūn al-Rashīd was 5239 years.¹⁸⁰ [Then] the dissent among the [Arabs] occurred, and many from all of the country as far as [Jund] al-Urdunn¹⁸¹ were killed; there was looting everywhere, many Samaritans—heads of villages—were killed, and the written curse was fulfilled: “A sword shall be in your midst.”¹⁸²

[220] [Then] Abū ‘Awf, a man from [the tribe of] Judhām,¹⁸³ rebelled and came to Palestine. He came down to Sālīm,¹⁸⁴ and when he was killed his companions ran away and the believers¹⁸⁵ fell into great strife. A man by the name of Mirāhā whose son was one of those killed¹⁸⁶ in Sālīm rose from his army,¹⁸⁷ and many people went forth with him. They gathered in Zaytā¹⁸⁸ and continued on their way to Arsūf. They plundered and killed, burned villages, looted the synagogues and burned the meeting place of the

¹⁷⁸The Ms. has *يتعلق*, probably to be read *يتعلق*, though in the given context it seems that the appropriate expression would have been *يتعلق بهم*, “clung to them”, rather than *يتعلق عليهم*, “depended on them”.

¹⁷⁹I.e. to manage affairs of state.

¹⁸⁰The text actually has “5000 years and 239 months”, clearly a mistake. Read all as years this date is roughly correct. According to Abū l-Faḥḥ the *hijra* dating begins in AM 5047 (see above, p. 50 and n. 31). The year 5239 would thus be AH 192, while al-Amīn in fact reigned from AH 193.

¹⁸¹It is more likely that the author is referring here to Jund al-Urdunn rather than to the river Jordan itself. Cf. below, p. 93, where there is a comparison between the application of the restriction in Palestine and its application in al-Urdunn.

¹⁸²The use of *وسط* with *على* here is irregular, although the meaning is clear. This could refer to several Biblical passages, e.g. Leviticus 26:33, Ezekiel 6:3, 11:8.

¹⁸³Ms. *جذامى*; read *جذامى*.

¹⁸⁴See Geographical Appendix.

¹⁸⁵Referring to the Muslims. In SA أ may be replaced by *بى*. See Stenhouse, “Samaritan Arabic,” in Crown, *Samaritans*, pp. 600–601; also Blau, *Grammar*, I, 169, for a case of *مُمن*. Note also the incorrect use of the case, *الميمنين* instead of *الميمنون*, and *اختلفو* instead of *اختلف*.

¹⁸⁶Ms. *المقتولين*; read *المقتولين*.

¹⁸⁷The Ms. reads *جيسه*, which could be corrected either to *جيشه* or to *جنسه*, as is the case in the next line.

¹⁸⁸See Geographical Appendix.

Dositheans¹⁸⁹ in Arsūf [because] they could not enter into it. [Then] they returned and plundered anything they could [lay their hands on], and we were terrified by night and by day. After that Muḍar¹⁹⁰ and Qays¹⁹¹ gathered in Caesarea and ransacked the villages and laid the world waste. Mirāhā came forth a second time, and went to the province of Caesarea;¹⁹² the Kinānīyīn¹⁹³ emerged from Caesarea with a large army, Mirāhā fled before the Kinānīyīn, and they overtook them and killed a number of them. After that God, in His mercy, brought relief and turned the hardship into joy. Muḥammad [al-Amīn] sent officers and governors over the land, the people were at peace,¹⁹⁴ the wicked were scattered, and we returned to our homes.

After two whole¹⁹⁵ years Muḥammad [al-Amīn] was killed, his brother ‘Abd Allāh came to power, and there was strife amongst the people [221] everywhere; his rule was of no avail, and the people did not obey him. The people fell into enmity and killed one another—O, how many of them were killed! There was strife and hatred amongst them, women and children were taken into captivity, and a group of the Samaritans was made to follow [into captivity]. [Thus] the curse came true: “Your sons and your daughters shall be given to another people while your eyes look on, and it shall not

¹⁸⁹The text here is not clear. It may read مقالة الدستان [بـ] [الارسوف] with مقالة perhaps to be taken as مقالة, i.e. the “conference place” of the Dositheans. The Dustān or Dositheans were a sect that left the Samaritan mainstream probably in the first century CE. On the Dositheans see Jarl Fossum, “Sects and Movements,” in Crown, ed., *The Samaritans*, pp. 299–357.

¹⁹⁰Here spelt مدر instead of مضر.

¹⁹¹Ms. قيس; read قيس.

¹⁹²Ms. بر قيساريه.

¹⁹³Ms. الكناسين; read الكنانيين, which may refer to men from the tribe of Kināna. There is evidence for the presence of the Banū Kināna in Palestine, e.g. ‘Alqama ibn Ḥakīm of the Banū Kināna, who served as governor of Palestine in the days of the caliph ‘Uthmān. See Gil, *A History of Palestine*, p. 116; I. Hasson, “The Penetration of Arab Tribes in Eretz Israel during the First Century of the Hijra”, *Cathedra* 32 (1984), p. 64 (Hebrew).

¹⁹⁴Ms. وهذه الناس; read وهدن الناس (L.C.).

¹⁹⁵Here two words are covered by an ink blot, perhaps سنتين, “after two whole years”, presumably from the time affairs were under control again in Palestine, since al-Amīn acceded to the throne on 24 March 809 and reigned for four and a half years before he was killed on 26 September 813.

be in the power of your hand [to prevent it].”¹⁹⁶ Women were defiled,¹⁹⁷ and Samaritans and others of all the other nations were killed; villages were destroyed and emptied of their inhabitants, the land was not trodden upon by passers-by, and the people were in a state of misfortune night and day. Misfortune multiplied, and locusts came one year after another and ate [both] the tender green plants and those that were dry. [Then] there was a rise in prices, the people weakened and lost their property and their herds, and we were scattered¹⁹⁸ amongst the people and fled in fear of the sword. All of this, and more, [happened] because of the sins and the crimes that the people committed before Almighty God. They pursued¹⁹⁹ vanity, deviated from the truth and from doing good, and broke the precepts of Almighty God. Because of this, all these calamities came upon us; [222] but God, blessed be His name, did not see fit to break His pact with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, peace be upon them, and He granted favour and replaced these calamities with relief.

The Muslims assembled and detained each person in his place, and there was hatred and evil amongst them. A man spilling blood amongst them became a common thing, and many people were apprehended. A man called Masrūr ibn Abū ‘Āmir²⁰⁰ [was in charge of] the whole district of Nablus²⁰¹ and security arrangements there; he liked the Samaritans, and the people obeyed him. He was a great warrior and did good, and all the Samaritans in his territory fared well. He chose himself a friend from Sinjil²⁰² by the

¹⁹⁶Deuteronomy 28:32. The full text of the passage is: “Your sons and your daughters shall be given to another people while your eyes look on, and you will fail with longing for them all the day; and it shall not be in the power of your hand to prevent it”.

¹⁹⁷Ms. تطمت. This verb is an Arabicised form of the Hebrew נטט, “defiled”. See above, p. 67 n. 164.

¹⁹⁸Ms. تبّدتنا, in the sense of تبّدتنا. See Blau, *Grammar*, I, 169.

¹⁹⁹Ms. رغبو; read رغبو.

²⁰⁰Ms. مسرور ابن ابو عامر; read مسرورين وابو عامر, who is mentioned again, Ms. p. 237:9–10.

²⁰¹Ms. [كان على] كل عمل نابلس وامنه; read كل عمل نابلس وامنه.

²⁰²This appears in the text as Sinhil, but it seems most probable that it is Sinjil (see also Ms. p. 237:10), in the centre of Samaria. If indeed this is Sinjil, then it seems to be an early mention of this village. Traditionally it has been accepted that the name stemmed from St. Gilles, the name of this settlement during the Crusader period (its Latin equivalent being S. Egidius). This is based on a Crusader tradition according to which this was the place in which Raymond de St. Gilles, one of the leading Crusader commanders, encamped on his way to Jerusalem. See *Rorgo Fretellus de Nazareth et sa*

name of Ra'āma. The Muslims hated²⁰³ him²⁰⁴ and said: "We will not be able to kill him except by cunning, and the only one who can get to him is his friend Ra'āma." So they conspired with [Ra'āma] against [Masrūr], and when he visited Ra'āma the latter went up to him while they were eating and killed him. The affliction returned, and from the group of Ra'āma²⁰⁵ [people] were killed without number or count. The *ra'īs*²⁰⁶ made an agreement with some bandits,²⁰⁷ and they took him to Ra'āma and arrested him until they agreed upon a fine,²⁰⁸ which the Samaritans took upon themselves.²⁰⁹ [The *ra'īs*] went to his home safe; it was a day of great joy and delight for the community, and they thanked God profusely for the safe return of the *ra'īs*. All of this was the fruit of our divergence from the command [223] of God, our Lord.

After these troubles, locusts came and ate the wheat, the best crop of the land,²¹⁰ and ate the trees; there was a great rise in prices, and the [price of] wheat reached one measure of wheat (*qabb*) per *dīnār*, and the [price of]

description de la Terre sainte, histoire et édition du texte, ed. P.C. Boern (Amsterdam, 1980), p. 29; also V. Guérin, *Description géographique, historique et archéologique de la Palestine, Samarie* (Paris, 1875), II, 34–35. However, it may be this was a popular Crusader etymology that may have been based upon an earlier name in Arabic. This may be hinted also by the fact that Yāqūt, who is usually quite meticulous when it comes to the spelling of geographical names, spells Sinjil in two different ways: as *Sinjil* (III, 162; IV, 312), and as *Sinjil* (III, 220). The latter form of spelling is also used by al-Harawī, *Kitāb al-ishārāt ilā ma'rifat al-ziyārāt*, ed. J. Sourdel-Thomine (Damascus, 1953), p. 24; this may well be due to the Crusader pronunciation of the name of the settlement, which gained in size and importance during this period. In his *Āthār al-bilād* (Baghdad, 1960), p. 203, s.v. Sinjil, al-Qazwīnī cites al-Iṣṭakhrī, who wrote in the tenth century, as saying that Jubb Yūsuf is found between Nablus and Sinjil. However, this citation is not found, as far as I could see, in the existing editions of al-Iṣṭakhrī. Nevertheless, this may serve as another indication for the existence of the name Sinjil before the Crusades.

²⁰³It seems that here *كرهوه* stands for *كرهوه*.

²⁰⁴I.e. Masrūr, as will immediately become clear.

²⁰⁵Ms. *دعي اثنين*, "[who was] called 'two'" (?), seems quite out of context here.

²⁰⁶The *ra'īs* was the head of the Samaritan community.

²⁰⁷Above the word *ناس* there appears a mark signifying that an additional phrase written in the margin should be inserted here: *خراميه واخذوه الى رعامه واعتقله حتى قاطعوهم*.

²⁰⁸Ms. *حطمة*, in the sense of *حجارة*.

²⁰⁹Cf. Ms. p. 211:2–3.

²¹⁰The word *الارض* appears to have been stricken out by the copyist, but clearly belongs here (L.C.).

oil, five measures of weight (*aqṣāt*)²¹¹ per *dīnār*. But God was loving and no one was harmed,²¹² because God spares in His mercy. He is merciful and compassionate, and will not cast a man away.

The following year the locusts struck and the people's possessions dwindled because of the high cost; as long as the trouble increased the dissent continued amongst the people, and the earth became impure²¹³ from the multitude of the killing and the discharge of dead bodies.²¹⁴ Many priests, priests' wives, and the children of the *ḥakākima*²¹⁵ and those in charge of precepts²¹⁶ and synagogues did not guard their honour.²¹⁷ When the daughter of the priest of 'Askar²¹⁸ neglected her honour, her father was not able to kill her because the people of [his] village made it impossible for him to do so; [so] he decided to send her away from him and [thus] kept the Word of Almighty God: "And remove it from your midst."²¹⁹

²¹¹The *qist* (= ξέστης, sextarius) was a measure for olive oil used in the Umayyad and 'Abbāsid periods. There were actually three measures called *qist*: one contained 476 grams, another 1.07 kilograms, and another 2.14 kilograms. See *EI*², s.v. "Makāyil".

²¹²Ms. *ولم ينظر احد*; read *ولم ينظر احد*, and cf. the similar phrases in the Ms., pp. 230:4, 243:3, 258:9–10. On *انظر*, see Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 4. Here, as elsewhere, the author probably means that no Samaritan was harmed.

²¹³Ms. *وتطمتت*, to be read something like *وتطلمات*, from the Hebrew *טמא*, the last two letters being repeated by mistake. See above, pp. 67 n. 164, 71 n. 197.

²¹⁴According to Lane, *Lexicon*, I.4, 1713, *صَلْب* is "the watery humour, mixed with blood, that flows from the dead".

²¹⁵This is the usual form that appears in Abū l-Faṭḥ, rather than *ḥukamā'*. The *ḥakākima* were a group of seven men, learned in the Torah and its precepts (*aḥkām*), who were appointed to supervise over the priests and the people. According to Abū l-Faṭḥ, this institution was established by the famous Samaritan leader Baba Rabbah (end of second century/beginning of third); the *ḥakākima* served as leaders of the Samaritan community and thereby weakened the position of the priests. See Vilmar, pp. 129–32; Stenhouse, trans., pp. 178–82.

²¹⁶Ms. *احكام*, referring to the precepts of the Torah. See the note above; also Vilmar, pp. 128:14, 130:7; Stenhouse, trans., pp. 178 n. 766, 180 n. 783.

²¹⁷As will become clear below, the point is that desperate circumstances led to a rise in prostitution.

²¹⁸A village located on the outskirts of Nablus. See the Geographical Appendix.

²¹⁹This is apparently a Biblical citation, although I could not find a passage with a similar wording. The expression *من جملتك* is the accepted Samaritan translation for *מקרבך*, "from your midst"; e.g. Deuteronomy 13:6, 17:7, where *ובערת הרע מקרבך* is translated as *وتنقي السوء من جملتك* or *وتنقي القبيح من جملتك*. It may be that this is a free translation that

The Samaritans of 'Askar had not been affected by anything because they were so strong, but they did not treat her charitably or take into consideration the fact that she had strayed on account of hunger. Since they did not treat her or others besides her charitably, God increased their misery in several ways, having confirmed their guilt, for God [224] will not show favour and will take no bribe,²²⁰ but rather judges by truth and justice,²²¹ because God increases the hardship of whoever can do good yet does not do it, and makes him taste misfortune so that he will love God and rejoice. Then the people ate and were satiated by the grace of God, the roads were travelled and the people were heartened,²²² and the Samaritans from all places went up to Mt. Gerizim; they fasted and prayed and thanked God profusely and praised Him for His favour in having removed this misery from them and replaced it with joy and mercy.

After thirteen years of the reign of 'Abd Allāh al-Ma'mūn, he sent a man known as Khālīd ibn Yazīd²²³ and with him a great army. The people were unaware of his approach until he suddenly appeared in Palestine.²²⁴ All the Muslims were in great fear of him and despaired of their lives; the rebels

the author chose for this same phrase.

²²⁰Ms. *رشا* stands for *رشوة*. The phrase refers to Deuteronomy 10:17: "For the Lord... shows no favour and takes no bribe". *يرفع وجه*, lit. "show face", is a literal trans-

lation of *יָשָׁא פָּנָיו*.

²²¹Ms. *الاحكام حق وصدق*, the syntax of which seems quite awkward here.

²²²Cf. *لَبَّ*, according to Lane, *Lexicon*, I.7, 2642, "one who renders himself near to people by affection and friendship (or is friendly and affectionate to them)".

²²³This is Khālīd ibn Yazīd ibn Mazyad al-Shaybānī, who was sent by al-Ma'mūn in 207/821–22 to assert his rule in Egypt, which was effectively ruled at the time by two rivals who controlled different parts of the country. On him and his family see P. Crone, *Slaves on Horses* (Cambridge, 1980), p. 170 no. 68. 'Ubayd Allāh ibn al-Sarī (*ibid.*, p. 75) controlled al-Fusṭāṭ and the south, while the north was ruled by 'Alī al-Jarawī (for sources concerning his revolt see C.E. Bosworth, trans., *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXXII: *The Reunification of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate* (Albany, 1987), p. 164 n. 494). Khālīd did indeed engage in several bloody battles in Egypt before he was finally defeated, captured and turned out of Egypt by 'Ubayd Allāh in February 823. See al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-wulāt*, ed. R. Guest (Leiden, 1912), pp. 173–76. The dating of the invasion by Khālīd ibn Yazīd to the thirteenth year of al-Ma'mūn's reign may refer back to the date of al-Ma'mūn's rebellion against al-Amīn, i.e. 194/810, thus bringing his period of reign to thirteen years. These two years are usually excluded: see al-Ṭabarī, III, 1140. This is also supported by the computation cited below, p. 80 n. 277.

²²⁴See al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 555.

decided to flee and abandon all their possessions, but when they saw [Khālīd] leaving for Egypt, they were safe again, as they had been before; they harmed the Samaritans and killed a group of them. Khālīd passed through and made his way down to Egypt, and the Egyptians waged war against him; he was a great warrior, and he killed a great many of them in battle and besieged and afflicted them. [225] Then they took him prisoner, and when they captured him all his companions took to flight. The Egyptians detained him for some time, and when they let him go again²²⁵ he went to his country. All the years from Adam to the arrival of Khālīd ibn Yazīd in the land of Egypt were 5250.²²⁶

After four years 'Abd Allāh the king sent a man called 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir²²⁷ accompanied by a great army, the like of which in might²²⁸ and destruction had never been known in action against the rebels.²²⁹ When he went forth from Baghdad he conquered the lands before him; God gave him victory and worked good deeds through him, and he crushed all the tyrants of the land. Upon his arrival at Ḥimṣ, Naṣr ibn Shabath²³⁰ rose against him with a great army of brigands, so ['Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir] besieged Ḥimṣ and beleaguered Naṣr until he requested a guarantee of safety (*amān*)²³¹ and left Ḥimṣ. When he emerged, 'Abd Allāh seized and enchained him; he took all of his possessions and his children, and sent him to Baghdad. He came to Palestine in the first year after the Sabbatical Year,²³² in the month of Kānūn al-Awwal, in the year 212 of the reign of Islam,²³³ and no one waged

²²⁵For this use of *عاد* see Blau, *Grammar*, II, 442.

²²⁶According to the computation of Abū l-Faṭḥ the *hijra* took place in the year 5047 after Creation; therefore 5250 = 825 CE. This computation seems to be somewhat imprecise, since the author himself states several lines later that 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir arrived in Egypt four years after Khālīd ibn Yazīd, in December 827. Cf. above, p. 74 n. 223, and also below, n. 233.

²²⁷'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir was appointed by al-Ma'mūn in charge of the region between Raqqa and Egypt in 821–22. In 825–26 he managed to quell Naṣr ibn Shabath's rebellion, which is mentioned below, and proceeded to Egypt, where he succeeded in establishing al-Ma'mūn's rule.

²²⁸Ms. *وراه*. Cf. *CA*, *وَرَأَى*, "strong", "sturdy"; Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire*, II, 1527.

²²⁹Ms. *جوارح*, *sic*!

²³⁰The leader of a group of Qaysī rebels who finally surrendered to 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir in 824–25. For parallels and bibliography see al-Ṭabarī/Bosworth, *Reunification*, 138–44.

²³¹I.e. surrendered in return for an *amān*, a formal pledge of safety and protection.

²³²Ms. *سنة السمطة*, an Arabic form of the Biblical term *שְׁמִטָּה*.

²³³December 827.

war against him [there].

[Then] he went down to Egypt [226] and waged war against it; the rebel there was called Sa'id ibn Sarī,²³⁴ and he took him prisoner and conveyed him to Baghdad to the king.²³⁵ He conquered the land to the frontier of Ifrīqiya,²³⁶ God established mercy for the people in his heart, and he lightened the affliction which was upon them—except for what the rebels²³⁷ did before him, [an affliction to which] there was no limit.²³⁸ all the people²³⁹ had left their places vacant, run away and strayed from their beliefs. ['Abd Allāh] ordered that anyone who paid²⁴⁰ the *kharāj* would receive a certificate²⁴¹ so that no one could take anything further from him, as had been done previously. Because of that affliction²⁴² many people were ruined; each [governor] who came was such an oppressor that many people were ruined and innumerable families²⁴³ perished, and towns and villages were vacated and fell into ruin. When relief came, a sadness came over anyone who had lost his family and relatives²⁴⁴ during the times of the oppression and hardship.

After him, there was a king who conquered Palestine (?);²⁴⁵ [he stayed] until he had appointed governors throughout the country, and then returned

²³⁴The Sarī mentioned here is 'Ubayd Allāh ibn al-Sarī (see above, p. 74 n. 223), who was indeed deported from Egypt to Baghdad, where he led quite a comfortable life. For sources and bibliography, see al-Ṭabarī/Bosworth, *Reunification*, pp. 160–61 n. 482.

²³⁵That is, to the caliph. According to al-Ṭabarī, III, 1093, 'Ubayd Allāh ibn al-Sarī was brought to Baghdad on 23 Rajab 211 (29 October 826).

²³⁶Ms. إلى تخم إفريقية; read: إلى تخم إفريقية.

²³⁷Ms. الخوارج here seems to be a combination of the plural and the singular forms:

خوارج and خارجي.

²³⁸This last part of the sentence is somewhat unclear, and the translation is therefore tentative.

²³⁹This description seems to regress to the previous state of affliction just mentioned.

²⁴⁰The term used here is وزن خراج; see Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 800.

²⁴¹Ms. خط.

²⁴²Ms. سبت ذلك, instead of ذلك سبت.

²⁴³Ms. قبائل.

²⁴⁴Ms. جماعه; read: جماعته.

²⁴⁵Ms. سنين. L.C. suggests that this is a misreading of a badly worn فلسطين, "Palestine", which fits into the context very well.

to his land.²⁴⁶ After his departure there revolted²⁴⁷ a rebel called Ibn Firāsa. He was an evil man who hated the Samaritans; he wanted them to abandon their religion in favour of his own, [227] and punished them and filled the prisons²⁴⁸ with them—men, women and children. He oppressed them with hunger and thirst, and many people died in the prisons. They had²⁴⁹ to pay money²⁵⁰ in order to be allowed to circumcise their sons on the eighth day; he who had money [had] the gentiles²⁵¹ testify for him that he had paid, and he returned a Samaritan.²⁵² Many people abandoned their religion, [still] many²⁵³ [others] showed endurance and patience until relief came from God, who sent mercy because He is merciful and benevolent.

CHAPTER

The Muslims gathered once again in opposition to al-Ma'mūn, who was [called] 'Abd Allāh,²⁵⁴ and killed the governor of Jericho (Rīḥā).²⁵⁵ [Al-Ma'mūn] departed²⁵⁶ for Jerusalem (Bayt al-Maḳdis) accompanied by many soldiers.²⁵⁷ When his nephew 'Alī was killed in Jericho, he ordered that many

²⁴⁶It may be that this obscure statement refers to Abū Ishāq Muḥammad ibn Hārūn al-Rashīd, who is referred to as "king" here because he was the future caliph al-Mu'taṣim. Abū Ishāq did indeed serve as governor of Syria and Egypt after 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir, between the years 213–15/828–30; he personally quelled the revolts in Egypt and later returned to Baghdad. See al-Kindī, *Wulāt*, pp. 188–89; al-Ṭabarī, III, 1099–1100, 1101, 1103; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 567.

²⁴⁷Ms. ثار; read: ثار.

²⁴⁸Ms. الحبوس; read: الحبوس, a reading confirmed on the next line: ومات ناس كثير في

الحبوس.

²⁴⁹Ms. احتاجو; read: احتاجو.

²⁵⁰Cf. Ms. p. 226:6: وزن خراج, and note thereto, p. 76 n. 240 above.

²⁵¹I.e. the Muslims.

²⁵²Ms. שמרי. Presumably it is meant here that the child was circumcised.

²⁵³Ms. اكثر, rather than ثار.

²⁵⁴More precisely, Abū Ja'far 'Abd Allāh al-Ma'mūn ibn Hārūn al-Rashīd.

²⁵⁵Ms. ربحا = ربحاء; see Yāqūt, II, 884–85.

²⁵⁶Ms. وخرجوا, with جوا crossed out, for وخرج.

²⁵⁷There is no other evidence concerning al-Ma'mūn's personal presence in Palestine, and specifically in Jerusalem, apart from a tradition in Nu'aym ibn Ḥammād, *Kitāb al-fitān*, ed. L.I. Conrad (Wiesbaden, forthcoming), no. 1160. It seems likely that al-Ma'mūn passed through Palestine on his way to Egypt to quell the rebellion there. He arrived in Egypt on 10 Muḥarram 217 (16 February 832) and left 47 or 49 days later, towards the end of March. See al-Ṭabarī, III, 1106–1107; al-Kindī, *Wulāt*, p. 192; al-Ya'qūbī,

people be rounded up. He waged war²⁵⁸ again against the dissenters, and God gave him victory; he killed 22 of their men and burnt the fortress in which they had taken refuge.²⁵⁹ They waged war against him, and a group of them went on to Bayt Jibrīn and raised troops there. The king's brother,²⁶⁰ [228] whose name was Ibrāhīm,²⁶¹ came accompanied by a great and mighty army and went to Bayt Jibrīn. He called upon them to offer them a guarantee of safety (*amān*), but they did not accept it. So he waged war against them²⁶² and fought them,²⁶³ and overtook them and destroyed them; he seized their possessions and ruined their villages, and took many of the people [captive] in iron fetters and conveyed them to Baghdad. Now the evil man—that is Ibn Firāsa—ran away and was never heard of again. And God brought relief to him who persevered in his patience and his belief, because He is merciful and benevolent, and everyone returned to his place safe and sound.

Ibrāhīm, the king's brother,²⁶⁴ departed and went on to Egypt, but they did not receive him favourably and waged war against him.²⁶⁵ He killed

Ta'rikh, II, 569. The information concerning his visit to Jerusalem is well-supported by the inscriptions on the copper plates found above the northern and eastern entrances of the Dome of the Rock, which bear his name and are dated to Rabī' II 216 (May–June 831). See M. van Brechem, ed., *Matériaux pour un corpus inscriptionum arabicarum*, 2B, II: *Jérusalem-Haram* (Cairo, 1925–27), pp. 246–55; K.A.C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, I: *Umayyads* (Oxford, 1932), pp. 47, 56. See also above, pp. 31–32.

²⁵⁸Ms. *أوقف حرب*; read *أوقف حرب*. This seems to be a very irregular usage; the phrase *أوقف حرب* is also used in the sense of “to stand up in battle”.

²⁵⁹Ms. *يحتمو*; read *يحتمو*.

²⁶⁰Ms. *أخو*, instead of *أخو*. See Blau, *Grammar*, II, 317, 318, 320.

²⁶¹Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī was al-Ma'mūn's uncle and Hārūn al-Rashīd's brother; he was caliph for a short period of time between 5 Muḥarram 202 (24 July 817) and Dhū l-Ḥijja 203 (June 819), when he abdicated and withdrew from political life; see *EI*², III, 987. This does not fit our context at all; in addition, since on the next page (Ms. p. 229) it is clearly mentioned that this so-called Ibrāhīm was proclaimed caliph after al-Ma'mūn, it follows that the reference is obviously to Abū Ishāq Muḥammad ibn Hārūn al-Mu'tasim (see above, p. 77 n. 246; below, n. 264, p. 80 n. 278). The reading “Ibrāhīm” therefore seems to be a mistake.

²⁶²See above, n. 258.

²⁶³Ms. *قاتلهم*; read *قاتلهم*. Perhaps the sequence of events was that he fought them, they fled, and then he overtook them and killed them.

²⁶⁴See above, n. 261.

²⁶⁵The presence of the future caliph al-Mu'tasim on this journey to Egypt, presumably accompanying al-Ma'mūn, is not mentioned anywhere else as far as I could see. It is not improbable, though, since he was in charge of Palestine and Syria at the time. See above,

a great many of them, destroyed their villages, and led their women and children and their dependents into captivity.²⁶⁶ In addition to this, he took an enormous and fabulous amount of booty and appointed governors over the whole country. He returned to his country in the fifth year after the Sabbatical Year, in [the month of] Nīsān.²⁶⁷ Al-Ma'mūn came to Damascus and built there very strong forts;²⁶⁸ he arrived there in [the month of] Aylūl in the fifth year after the Sabbatical Year, which is the year 217 of the reign of Islam.²⁶⁹ From Adam to the time of the arrival of al-Ma'mūn in Damascus was 5264 [229] years.²⁷⁰ He left supervisors on his behalf, and they destroyed all the strongholds in which the remaining [rebels] had fortified themselves, and destroyed the citadel built by Zeno on top of the mountain.²⁷¹ They seized a group of dissenters, bound them in iron fetters and sent them to Baghdad.

Al-Ma'mūn remained in Damascus seven months;²⁷² from there he went to the land of the Rūm (Byzantium)²⁷³ and there conquered many towns and villages. He returned to his land in the Sabbatical Year and ordered that the land be measured and the trees be counted, and this was done. He left in

pp. 77 n. 246, 78 n. 261, and below, p. 80 n. 278.

²⁶⁶Ms. *سبا*, instead of *سبي*. See Blau, *Grammar*, I, 190–91; also Stenhouse, “Samaritan Arabic,” pp. 599–601.

²⁶⁷I.e. April 832. The fifth year after the Sabbatical Year is AH 217, as noted in the following sentence. This is the date of his departure from Egypt, as corroborated by al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 569, who reports that al-Ma'mūn left Egypt three days before the end of Šafar 217, i.e. on 2 April 832.

²⁶⁸This does not seem to be recorded elsewhere.

²⁶⁹September 832.

²⁷⁰This is based upon the computation that the *hijra* took place in AM 5047; see above, p. 50 and n. 31.

²⁷¹See above, p. 59 n. 97.

²⁷²This would be already Šafar or Rabī' I 218 (April 833).

²⁷³Here the author seems to confuse two different invasions of Byzantium by al-Ma'mūn. The first invasion took place some time in AH 217 and included the long siege of Loulon, a fortress located northwest of Adana; this was a successful journey from which al-Ma'mūn returned in AH 218. The second invasion, which started on 16 Jumādā II 218 (9 July 833), was the one from which al-Ma'mūn never returned; he died in Byzantine territory on 18 Rajab 218 (9 August 833). See al-Ṭabarī, III, 1109–11, 1134–41; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 570, 573.

Palestine a man who levied the land taxes,²⁷⁴ called Abū l-Jārūd (?).²⁷⁵ He oppressed the people and burdened them terribly, as none of those before him had done, and he sapped the people [until] towns and villages were ruined and emptied of their inhabitants. But God brought upon the earth peace from [all] this, satiety, and belief, and did not impede them.²⁷⁶ 'Abd Allāh al-Ma'mūn reigned for 22 years and died.²⁷⁷

CHAPTER

His brother Ibrāhīm²⁷⁸ rose after him, and the people opposed him. A crowd gathered [230] and went up to Mt. Gerizim²⁷⁹ on the Feast of Tabernacles, and [the enemy] came down in order to loot Nablus. The officer in charge (*za'im*)²⁸⁰ left with his forces. The people of the town had acted against him earlier,²⁸¹ so the officer in charge (*za'im*) and his forces fled, and the enemy entered and looted and burnt many houses, and burnt the synagogue and the synagogues of the Dositheans.²⁸² But God had mercy, and none of the Samaritans were harmed.²⁸³ They remained [there] looting for three days. [When] the king heard of it he sent two commanders, one called Šāliḥ

²⁷⁴Ms. *بجلي الارض*, in the sense of *ياخذ جالية الارض*, i.e. referring to one who collects taxes from non-Muslims? See above, p. 57 n. 87, and below, p. 82 n. 299.

²⁷⁵Ms. *ابو الجارود*, probably to be read as *ابو الجارود*.

²⁷⁶*من هذا* seems to belong to the word "peace" rather than "satiety", where it appears.

²⁷⁷Al-Ma'mūn's reign was usually counted from the time the war between al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn ended, and is thus calculated as twenty years, five months and thirteen days (see al-Ṭabarī, III, 1140); the author of our text, however, seems to prefer a count which includes the two years of al-Ma'mūn's rebellion. This is corroborated by al-Ya'qūbī, who says that "from the day he was acknowledged as caliph (*سلم عليه بالخلافة*) during the life

of the Deposed (i.e. al-Amīn) until he died, there are 22 years, and from the killing of the Deposed there are twenty years, five months and 25 days". See al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 574; also above, p. 74 n. 223.

²⁷⁸The reference here is without doubt to al-Mu'tasim, who ruled for nine years from 218/833 to 227/842; see above, pp. 77 n. 246, 78 nn. 261, 264. He, not Ibrāhīm, who is mentioned above, was al-Ma'mūn's brother.

²⁷⁹Ms. *الى جبل הר גרזים*.

²⁸⁰Ms. *زعيم*. Cf. Ms. p. 231:10.

²⁸¹Ms. *وكان اهل البلد قد عملوا عليه*.

²⁸²See above, p. 70 n. 189.

²⁸³Ms. *ولم ينضر احد ولم ينظر احدا*; and cf. Ms. pp. 223:3: *ولم ينضر احد*; 243:3:

ولم ينضر احد من السامرة; 258:9-10: *وما انضر احد*.

and the other called Ja'far, and they came to Tiberias (Ṭabarīya) and there killed a group of rebels and plundered their villages. Then they came to Beth Shean (Baysān) and there encountered a group of rebels seeking to loot it and killed a great many of them. [Then] the two commanders²⁸⁴ went on and arrived in Ramla, and when the inhabitants of the land noticed this they mobilized great armies. The two commanders proceeded to Bayt Jibrīn and killed the rebels who were there. [When] they went up to Jerusalem on their way to Nablus, a group of rebels rose against them and attacked them in Wādī l-Jīb,²⁸⁵ and [the commanders] killed a great many of [the rebels]. The Samaritans approached [the commanders] and took from them a guarantee of safety (*amān*), and [the commanders] told [the people of Nablus]: "We are responsible for the safekeeping of anyone who is in [231] the city, [but] we will kill whoever is outside it." They came to Nablus, and there they came upon rebels seeking to plunder it; they seized them and crucified them at the eastern gate of the city.²⁸⁶

The *ra'īs* Nethan'el died in the second year after the Sabbatical Year²⁸⁷ in the month of Kāsālā'em,²⁸⁸ and was buried in the grave which he had made for his son Yehoqīm,²⁸⁹ whom he had wanted to appoint *ra'īs* in his lifetime. When he died he was buried there, and his grave is opposite the tomb of

²⁸⁴Ms. *القائدين*; read *العائدين*.

²⁸⁵Probably the northern tributary of the Soreq, the main stream draining the area of Jerusalem, running north-south near al-Jīb.

²⁸⁶Crucifixion in Islam was a criminal punishment in which the body of the criminal, either living or dead, was affixed to a beam or tree trunk and exposed for several days. It was imposed in various circumstances, usually in cases of cruel robbery or treachery. See *EI*², s.v. "Šalb".

²⁸⁷If the previous Sabbatical year ended in AH 218-19, as is stated above, then this must be AH 220-21 (835-36 CE).

²⁸⁸Kāsālā'em (כסלו, Hebrew Kislev; see Powels, "The Samaritan Calendar", p. 709 n. 73) is the Samaritan parallel of Kānūn al-Awwal, or December 835. See Powels, "The Samaritan Calendar", pp. 710-11.

²⁸⁹Ms. *יהקים*. It appears that he was buried in the same grave with his son, who was already buried there.

Zeno,²⁹⁰ close by the road that leads to al-Sārīn²⁹¹ and points thither, as was necessary because of the fear and desolation.²⁹² His priesthood (*imāma*) lasted for 50 years, and his grandson took his place.

The two commanders went on to Ramla, and people reverted to their former ways and gathered and came, intending to plunder Nablus once more. Word reached the officer in charge (*za'im*) who was in the city, and his fellow officers came out with him;²⁹³ the men of the city also came forth to wage war against them at close quarters (?).²⁹⁴ They killed many of the dissidents; many of them were crucified, and the rest fled from the sword. Victory was given to the commanders,²⁹⁵ and they conquered all the land of Palestine. They arrested the heads [232] of the bandits of 'Aqdīd,²⁹⁶ chained them²⁹⁷ and sent them in irons to Baghdad, and God brought security and welfare upon the earth²⁹⁸...the *kharāj* and the *jāliya*²⁹⁹ and they oppressed the people terribly; people sold their possessions, and a head of cattle [sold] for one *dīnār* because of the hardship they were in, and five heads of sheep [sold]

²⁹⁰ Abū l-Faṭḥ reports in the *Kitāb* that Zeno built a tomb on top of Mt. Gerizim, south of the temple, and buried his son in it. He placed a cross on top of this tomb and ordered the Samaritans to kneel before it under penalty of death. See Vilmar, pp. 171–72. On the question of Zeno's personal presence in Palestine during that time see A.D. Crown, "Samaritans in the Byzantine Orbit," *BJRL* 69 (1986), p. 131, and additional references therein.

²⁹¹ Al-Sārīn may be Jabal al-Sirī, a summit on the northwest side of the Gerizim ridge. The name appears earlier in the text; see Vilmar, p. 111ult (Stenhouse, trans., p. 153), where al-Sārīn is a place close by Nablus where the High Priest assembles the Samaritans.

²⁹² Ms. وما يلي كما يجب من الخوف والفرغ; read وما يلي كما يجب من الخوف والفرغ (L.C.). It seems that the security situation was too bad to allow for erection of a tomb of his own.

²⁹³ Ms. وخرج بمن معه من اصحابه المقدمين; more coherent would be: وخرج بمن معه من اصحابه المقدمين.

²⁹⁴ Ms. مناربه; perhaps a misreading of مقارنة (L.C.).

²⁹⁵ Ms. وجعل النصر القايد; read وجعل للقائين, unless وجعل is an active verb, in which the subject is God.

²⁹⁶ Unidentified name.

²⁹⁷ Ms. وقبروهم; read وقيدوهم (L.C.). This was usual practice.

²⁹⁸ It seems that the scribe has skipped something here, since the sentence is discontinuous: وجعل الله في الارض امن وخير الخراج والجلية وضيقوا على الناس كثير. It is hard to imagine that this should be read: "and God brought upon the earth security and the best of the *kharāj* and the *jāliya* and they oppressed the people", etc.

²⁹⁹ The poll tax, more commonly known as the *jizya*. See Lane, *Lexicon*, I.2, 448. See also above, pp. 57 n. 87, 80 n. 274.

for one *dīnār*. But God conferred good in the end, and no one strayed from his faith. [In fact], they oppressed the Muslims more than they oppressed the Samaritans.³⁰⁰ Due to God's love, the year passed without a single one of the Samaritans asking for assistance; blessed be He who changes but is not changed, for He does not forget the covenant of the righteous and does not abandon them, for he is God—their God.³⁰¹ Felicitations to he who leaves³⁰² the path of dissension and walks in the path of the truth.

When the *imām*³⁰³ Pinḥas, son of Nethan'el, came into office, he annulled the system of the *hakākima*,³⁰⁴ they were not invested with any authority, nor did they—or even the shaykhs of the Samaritans—exercise any. By my life, things could have turned out quite badly; but they did not come to such an end, or even take an iniquitous turn, since people acted in accordance with their command.³⁰⁵ Praised be He who shows forbearance, and whom nothing escapes. We were forced to call upon judges without wisdom, who did not know true from false.

The synagogue of Nablus, which had burnt down, was in urgent need of the aid of Almighty God,³⁰⁶ who aided the *ra'īs* Dartā, the head of the Samaritans. He went about [233] and raised [money] from the Samaritans and built it without wood, except for the middle building, and there was great joy and happiness among all the Samaritans. One of the *hakākima* saw in [his] sleep that they would perform the prayer and go up [to the mountain] on Monday on the holiday of Pentecost (*hajj al-sawābī*). They went down from the mountain to the place of prayer³⁰⁷ and stayed there until the evening,

³⁰⁰ An interesting remark indicating that already in the first half of the ninth century there were permanent Muslim settlements in the area of Samaria, as opposed to wanderers, rebels and bandits.

³⁰¹ Ms. כִּי אֲנִי ה' אֱלֹהֵיכֶם, perhaps following the biblical expression "For I am God, your God", for example, as in Exodus 6:7, Leviticus 11:44, 19:2, 3, 4, 10, etc.

³⁰² Ms. يخرج عن الطريق, in the sense of "leaves the road [to pasture somewhere else]". See Lane, *Lexicon*, I.6, 2704.

³⁰³ This is an alternative term for *ra'īs*, both used to designate the Samaritan High Priest.

³⁰⁴ On the institution of the *hakākima* see above, p. 73 n. 215. See also below, pp. 89, 93, where this event is referred to again.

³⁰⁵ Ms. ينولاه, for يناولونه or يناولونه? For this sense of ناول see Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 738. Ms. انه لسيت is perhaps a corruption of انه لسيت.

³⁰⁶ Ms. ارادت, instead of the correct ارادت.

³⁰⁷ Ms. مصلى, instead of مصلى. For the occurrence of this change in *verba tertiae infirmae* see Blau, *Grammar*, I, 190–91; also Stenhouse, "Samaritan Arabic," pp. 599–600. Cases

and they did the same on Tuesday. The people remained in peace for five years.

The king Ibrāhīm³⁰⁸ entered the land of Byzantium and devastated a large city of theirs called Amorium ('Ammūriya).³⁰⁹ He aggravated³¹⁰ all the creeds,³¹¹ just like his son Ja'far,³¹² who provoked the hatred of all the people when he rose [to power] and reigned. Ibrāhīm ruled for nine years and died.³¹³ Before his death, Ayhūd (?)³¹⁴ came forth...³¹⁵ and rose against him. The beginning of his uprising³¹⁶ [was thus]: he came out to

of such change in nouns are apparently rarer.

³⁰⁸Again, actually referring to al-Mu'taṣim.

³⁰⁹The most detailed description of this famous expedition, which took place in the summer of 838, is given by al-Ṭabarī, III, 1236–56. For translation and commentary see C.E. Bosworth, trans., *The History of al-Ṭabarī, XXXIII: Storm and Stress along the Northern Frontiers of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate* (Albany, 1991), pp. 97–121. See also a detailed description of the conquest of Amorium in Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar*, XXIII, 215–17.

³¹⁰Ms. *مَحْرَب*, for which L.C. suggests *يَمْلَأُ*, "to fill with fear", with reference to Ms. p. 236:3–4.

³¹¹The word *umma*, pl. *umam*, is used in a similar manner in reference to Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn; see Ms. p. 251:11: *وَحَافَتُ مِنْهُ كُلُّ الْأُمَمِ هُوَ مَدِيدٌ عَلَى كُنَائِسِهِمْ*, "all the religious communities were in fear of him, lest he extend [his] hand to their houses of worship". In this case it is quite clear that the reference is to members of other religious groups. *Umma* is also used in this manner in reference to al-Mutawakkil's decrees: see Ms. p. 239:5, 6.

³¹²Al-Mu'taṣim was succeeded by his son Abū Ja'far Hārūn al-Wāthiq bi'llāh (r. 227–32/842–47), who was succeeded in turn by his brother Abū l-Faḍl Ja'far al-Mutawakkil (r. 232–47/847–61). Since al-Wāthiq is called Hārūn in the text, while al-Mutawakkil is referred to as Ja'far, it seems likely that the reference here is to al-Mutawakkil rather than to al-Wāthiq.

³¹³See above, pp. 77 n. 246, 78 nn. 261, 264, 80 n. 278. Al-Mu'taṣim did indeed reign from 218/833 to 227/842.

³¹⁴Ms. *يهود*, perhaps a name.

³¹⁵Here there is a gap of two or three words in the text. From the following pages it becomes clear that the author is describing the rebellion of Abū l-Ḥarb al-Mubārqa' al-Yamānī at the end of al-Mu'taṣim's reign and in the days of al-Wāthiq. A detailed description is given by al-Ṭabarī, III, 1319–22. Al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 586, mentions that his name was Tamīm al-Lakhmī; he was called Abū Ḥarb, and his *laqab* was al-Mubārqa'. See also Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VI, 522–23; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh madīnat Dimashq*, XVIII, s.v. *Rajā'* ibn Abī Ayyūb al-Ḥidārī, pp. 94–95; H. Eisenstein, "Die Erhebung des Mubārqa' in Palästina", *Orientalia* 55 (1986), pp. 454–58; Gil, *History of Palestine*, pp. 295–96.

³¹⁶Ms. *تمرده*.

the meadow³¹⁷ after the manner³¹⁸ of the bandits, and when a group [of them] had gathered around him, they came and plundered a village by al-Ṭawāhīn³¹⁹ and came to Baṣaliyā.³²⁰ [When] the governor (*wālī*) of Ramla heard of this, he left in his place³²¹ a commanding officer (*muqaddam*).³²² [Abū] Ḥarb fled to al-Shi'r,³²³ which is in Jordan,³²⁴ and [the governor] was not strong enough to overcome him; he then returned to Ramla and went up to Baṣaliyā, leaving in charge the commanding officer (*muqaddam*), a man by the name of Ibrāhīm ibn Narfata.

[234] [When] the commanding officer arrived the rebels attacked him and killed many of his men; whoever fled was unharmed. The people were in great fear and assembled in Nablus. The chief (*za'im*) of Ramla³²⁵ came up to Nablus, and when he encamped outside it he was told: "If you want Abū Ḥarb, he is camped at 'Aqraba."³²⁶ He set out at night and made his way towards him and waged war upon him in the mountains; a group of

³¹⁷No doubt in reference to a specific place.

³¹⁸Ms. *زاي*; read *راي*. L.C. understands *زاي* as the colloquial form of *CA زاي*, which would give: "he came out to the meadow dressed as bandits dress".

³¹⁹Literally, "the mills", located around the springs of Ra's al-'Ayn, by the fort of Antipatris (Abū Fuṭrus), not far from Ramla; see *EI*², s.v. "Nahr Abī Fuṭrus". Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VI, 523, mentions that the rebellion started in the vicinity of Ramla.

³²⁰Here the text reads *بصليا*; see Geographical Appendix. The reading *بصليا* two lines lower is an error.

³²¹This should be *خليج*; see Stenhouse, "Samaritan Arabic," pp. 599–600.

³²²Apparently so that he could follow him and fight him.

³²³This refers to the biblical Mt. Se'ir or the "land of Se'ir" in the land of Edom, i.e. southern Transjordan, usually called al-Sharāt in the Muslim sources. The name *al-Shi'r* for Se'ir appears in the Samaritan Arabic translation of Genesis 36:8, 20, 30; see H. Shehadeh, *The Arabic Translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch*, I: *Genesis-Exodus* (Jerusalem, 1989). See also the Palestinian Aramaic translation of the Bible, *Targum Pseudo-Yonatan*, of Genesis 32:4, 36:8, where Se'ir is translated as *Gabala*, i.e. the Byzantine district of *Gabalene*, Biblical Edom.

³²⁴Al-Ṭabarī (III, 1319) mentions that he hid in "one of the mountains in Jordan". The name mentioned here is not identified. In fact, al-Sharāt's status is not clear. There are geographers who claim it is part of Jund Dimashq, some say it is annexed to Palestine, while still others claim they are separate districts. See A. Elad, "Two Identical Inscriptions from Jund Filastīn from the Reign of the 'Abbāsīd Caliph, al-Muqtadir", *JESHO* 35 (1992), pp. 337–38.

³²⁵Presumably the governor (*wālī*) who was pursuing Abū Ḥarb.

³²⁶Ms. *فهبوا نازل في*; presumably *فهبوا نازل في*.

Muḥammad's companions was killed,³²⁷ and [the others] returned to Ramla in disorder. The commanding officer (*muqaddam*) of Ramla had appointed over Nablus one of its people, Abū Nimr (?)³²⁸ Mūsā ibn Hārūn, an oppressive man, and he went in flight to Ramla.

The rebel then asserted himself, and throngs of rebels gathered around him. They came to Qaryat Qūzā³²⁹ and plundered [it]; [Abū Ḥarb] came to the district and collected from every village according to its ability, and came up to Nablus and descended upon it and demanded money from it, [but] they gave him nothing. Fighting broke out on Thursday, and people from both parties were killed. He passed the night in Sālim, and on Friday morning he appeared with a huge army, defeated the people, and entered Nablus, and killed...³³⁰

[235] But suddenly,³³¹ God alleviated [the situation] through a man called 'Alī ibn 'Ambar with a small troop of cavalry (?).³³² When they heard that the army had arrived, Banū³³³ Muḥammad were put to flight by the sword,³³⁴ they clashed, and many on both sides were killed. The people rejoiced; but it was not over yet, for when it was night Ibn 'Ambar left and departed to his place. The people left fleeing on the night of the Sabbath: fathers did not wait for their sons, nor sons for their fathers, such was the fear. Voices of priests, heads and dignitaries (*muqaddamīn*) [were heard] crying and screaming because of what had happened to them on that Sabbath. The inhabitants of the city fled from the sword. As for the *ra'īs*, he did not leave and was struck by the sword. He was taken down to Hebron (Khalīl), where he died and was buried, God aid his soul. When Abū Ḥarb saw that the

³²⁷This could be read either as وَقْتَل or as وَقِيل. "Muḥammad" is probably Abū Ḥarb or one of his men, as becomes clear in the next sentences.

³²⁸Ms. للبنمر; perhaps أبو نمر (L.C.)?

³²⁹See Geographical Appendix.

³³⁰The scribe was apparently unable to decipher the text here. L.C. reads وَقْتَل بِجِيرَتِهِ وَالْيَ هُوَ تَجَرَّ, "and in a place nearby a governing official who was causing trouble was killed". Cf. above, p. 56 n. 79.

³³¹See Blau, *Grammar*, II, 462.

³³²Ms. خيل; perhaps read خيل (L.C.).

³³³The Ms. here is not completely clear and appears to bear بنو; read بنو?

³³⁴The copyist seems again to have been at a loss, as at the bottom of the last page. Ms. انهم بنو محمد هزيمة السيف. Cf. هربوا هروب السيف. It is not clear who the Banū Muḥammad mentioned here are; it can nevertheless be assumed that this is a part of Abū Ḥarb's army.

people had left their possessions and fled, he returned and entered Nablus, and burned and looted for seventeen³³⁵ days. The looting persisted, and we were neglected throughout the land; thus the curse was fulfilled: "And he will send a sword behind them, and he will leave your country barren and your villages destroyed."³³⁶ Nothing remained³³⁷ of the curse, which did not take effect upon us.

The coward³³⁸ left [236] and went on to Nīsā/Yansā (?)³³⁹ and destroyed it; he continued to Baysān and levied from the people a great amount of money, and went on to 'Atīl³⁴⁰ and looted it. He turned to the south,³⁴¹ and many villages were plundered there; the people endured great hardship, and he was hated among all the creeds. We were overtaken by many calamities,³⁴² and terrible death came upon the people. O, how many left their place and did not return! Asasabī,³⁴³ king of Israel,³⁴⁴ pledged the Samaritans in oath³⁴⁵ in front of Mt. Gerizim³⁴⁶ and made it known that they would not eat with the Dositheans, drink with them, marry them or give [their children] in marriage to them.

As for Abū Ḥarb, he returned to Ramla and fought with [its people], who were not able to rid themselves of him. [When] the king Ibrāhīm³⁴⁷

³³⁵Ms. سبعا عشر, probably influenced by اثنًا عشر or حدا عشر. See Blau, *Grammar*, I, 238–39.

³³⁶Leviticus 26:33.

³³⁷Ms. ولم تبقا شئ.

³³⁸Ms. الجباني, perhaps a misreading of الجبان, "coward", i.e. he had dared attack only when they were defenseless (L.C.).

³³⁹Unidentified name.

³⁴⁰See Geographical Appendix.

³⁴¹The word *qibla* was used by the Samaritans both for Mt. Gerizim, or the "chosen place" (Vilmar, p. 65:2ff.; Stenhouse, trans., p. 85ff.), and simply for "south", as in Arabic (Vilmar, p. 26:5; Stenhouse, trans., p. 32).

³⁴²Ms. موايد; read وايد. See Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire*, II, 1472.

³⁴³Ms. أسسبي.

³⁴⁴No doubt a reference here to the *ra'īs*, the leader of the Samaritan community.

³⁴⁵See Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire*, II, 767; Hans Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, ed. J. Milton Cowan, 3rd ed. (Wiesbaden, 1971), pp. 652, 775; Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 369.

³⁴⁶Ms. הר גריזים.

³⁴⁷I.e. the reigning caliph al-Mu'taṣim. See above, pp. 77 n. 246, 78 nn. 261, 264, 80 n. 278.

heard [this], he sent a man named Rajā³⁴⁸ with an army; when he was on his way, the king died and his son Hārūn³⁴⁹ succeeded him. This Hārūn recalled Rajā³⁵⁰ from the road and instructed him as to what he wanted and sent him [on his way].³⁵¹ He arrived in Damascus and found Ibn 'Abbās³⁵² besieging it. Rajā killed many of his chiefs³⁵³ and destroyed all his estates.³⁵⁴ He then crossed over and arrived in Mt. Lebanon (Lubnān).

[237] He came, and with him Ahmad, to Ramla, and called upon the son of the commander³⁵⁵ who had fled. When he arrived and encamped outside Lydda, Abū Ḥarb appeared³⁵⁶ and seized horses from them; those who pursued him³⁵⁷ could not catch up with him, and he reached Sālīm and looted whatever had been deposited [there]. He [then] went up to 'Atīl³⁵⁸ again, because he was determined to meet Rajā in Wādī 'Ārā.³⁵⁹ When he arrived there, God, may He be exalted, did not bring about for him what he had wanted; [thus] he passed through Wādī 'Ārā and slept in Rāmīn.³⁶⁰

³⁴⁸This is Rajā' ibn Ayyūb al-Ḥidārī. See Ibn 'Asākir, XVIII, 94–95; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VI, 522–23; al-Ṭabarī, III, 1320–22; spelt here Rajā.

³⁴⁹This is Hārūn al-Wāthiq ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Mu'taṣim, who came to power on 18 Rabī' I 227 (26 December 841). See al-Ṭabarī, III, 1329; *EI*², s.v. "al-Wāthiq bi'llāh".

³⁵⁰The ر seems to be missing from the name here.

³⁵¹Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1319ff.; Ibn 'Asākir, XVIII, 94–95; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VI, 522–23, all placing the rebellion in the last year of al-Mu'taṣim's reign (227/841), while the other independent source, al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 586, places it at the beginning of al-Wāthiq's reign (227/842). Ibn 'Asākir expressly mentions this same fact that Rajā' was recalled by al-Wāthiq and given new instructions.

³⁵²This is probably a distortion of the name of Ibn Bayhas, the leader of the rebels in Damascus. See al-Ṭabarī, III, 1320; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 586; Ibn 'Asākir, XVIII, 94–95; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VI, 522–23.

³⁵³Ms. وجا, presumably to be read وجهاء.

³⁵⁴In this connection, "estates" seems preferable to "villages", since it refers to Ibn Bayhas' property. According to one of al-Ṭabarī's sources (III, 1322), Rajā' killed 5,000 of Ibn Bayhas' followers and two of his closest companions (*aṣḥāb*); Ibn Bayhas and Abū Ḥarb were taken prisoners and sent to Sāmarrā. Al-Ya'qūbī (II, 586) mentions only that Ibn Bayhas was taken prisoner.

³⁵⁵Ms. ابن المقدم.

³⁵⁶Ms. جا; read وجا.

³⁵⁷Ms. من يكره. See Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 448.

³⁵⁸See Geographical Appendix.

³⁵⁹This sentence should be read thus: [لانه كان معول على لقا رجا في وادي عار]. See Ge-

ographical Appendix, s.v. Wādī 'Ārā.

³⁶⁰See Geographical Appendix.

In the morning he came to Sālīm, and on Thursday he went up to 'Atīl, thinking that they would ask for [his] protection [so that] they could come out safe and sound. But they did not want to hear him. He warned them of the consequences,³⁶¹ then returned to Sālīm and prepared himself. [Rajā] went after Abū Ḥarb,³⁶² and Abū Ḥarb confronted him, accompanied by Ibn Masrūr, the son of the man who had favoured the Samaritans and who was killed in Sinjil.³⁶³ With them was a great host. [Rajā] warned them of the consequences,³⁶⁴ and when they began to come forth he joined battle with them. God, may He be praised and exalted, gave him victory, and a great many of them were killed in 'Atīl and its surroundings. He seized Abū Ḥarb and Ibn Masrūr and a group of their commanders (*muqaddamīhi*), bound them in iron chains [238] and sent them to the king.³⁶⁵

No one had expected that 'Atīl would ever be purified³⁶⁶ [until] the *ra'īs* Pinḥas—in his days and the days of the *ra'īs* Yōsha' the precepts (*aḥkām*)³⁶⁷ were debased because they were annulled³⁶⁸—arrived from Afāzim.³⁶⁹ [Now] this man was a *muftī*,³⁷⁰ and he assumed responsibility³⁷¹ for the purification of 'Atīl and made sure it was done properly, because it was one of the large villages. He purified ['Atīl],³⁷² though he had no experience in such things.³⁷³

Rajā went on to Egypt,³⁷⁴ and [then] continued to his country, and we

³⁶¹Ms. واشهد عليهم, or more bluntly: "he threatened them". See Lane, *Lexicon*, I.3, 1610.

³⁶²There seems to be no logical way to understand this sentence other than to presume that the scribe had omitted Rajā's name here by mistake. It should thus read: وخرج [رجا] ورا ابو حرب وخرج اليه ابو حرب.

³⁶³See Geographical Appendix, and Ms. p. 222:7; also above, p. 71 n. 202.

³⁶⁴See above, n. 361.

³⁶⁵See above, p. 87 n. 347.

³⁶⁶Ms. طهر; read طهر, as becomes clear on l. 4: تطهير. The Samaritans considered any place where corpses were present unclean, and therefore in need of purification. See I.R.M. Bóid, "The Samaritan Halacha", in Crown, *Samaritans*, pp. 625–26.

³⁶⁷This term appears earlier in the text. See above, p. 73 nn. 215–16.

³⁶⁸Ms. ذلك الاحكام عنهم لانهم منعوا. This seems to refer to the annulment of the institution of the *hakakima* in the days of Pinḥas; see Ms. pp. 242–43.

³⁶⁹Unidentified name.

³⁷⁰CA مفت, an expounder of the law.

³⁷¹Ms. تولى, instead of the CA تولى.

³⁷²Ms. طاهرها; read طاهرها, "purified it". See Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire*, II, 114.

³⁷³Read the Ms. وما له منها خبر (L.C.).

³⁷⁴The journey to Egypt took place, according to al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 586, in 228/842–43.

returned joyfully to our homes safe and sound in the month of Nisān, and sacrificed gladly and gave profuse thanks to Almighty God. After this the people suffered at the hands of the authorities;³⁷⁵ they taxed the people heavily,³⁷⁶ and because of the oppression the people came out and plundered all the way down to the bank of the Jordan.³⁷⁷ Almighty God put mercy in the heart of the king in the month of the corn,³⁷⁸ and he sent [an order] and annulled it.³⁷⁹ All this took place in the days of Hārūn.³⁸⁰ This Hārūn prohibited the Christians from sounding the *nāqūs*,³⁸¹ and he reigned for six years.³⁸² The Muslims prevented the Jews from worshipping,³⁸³ even from afar.

We did not write down their recollection [of events]³⁸⁴ during this period, nor that of the kings of the land, [239] because we were preoccupied with our own affairs; there was no one left who had the zeal, or was interested in taking it upon himself,³⁸⁵ except a few people from amongst all the groups of the Muslims.

³⁷⁵Ms. *بيد السلاطين*. Until the eleventh century, the term *sultān* implied any kind of ruler; see *EI*², s.v. "Sultān".

³⁷⁶Ms. *وجبو*; read *وجبو*. The reading would thus be: *وجبو الناس جباية عظيمة*.

³⁷⁷Ms. *جينة الاردن*. A *جينة* is the side of a valley, or a coast. See Hava, *Al-Farā'id*, p. 105; Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire*, I, 355.

³⁷⁸Ms. *شهر الدجن*; read *شهر الدجن*, as in Hebrew, "corn" (see Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 425; above, p. 66 n. 154)—the month of the corn; or perhaps *دخن*, millet or sorghum, which was already known in Palestine at that time; see A.M. Watson, *Agricultural Innovation in the Early Islamic World* (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 11–14. This may refer either to the month of sowing or of harvesting. *شهر الدجن* may also be "the rainy month". The "king" referred to is the caliph al-Wāthiq.

³⁷⁹I.e. he annulled the heavy taxes.

³⁸⁰I.e. al-Wāthiq; see above, p. 88 n. 349.

³⁸¹A long resonant wooden plank which is struck in order to notify times of prayer. This restriction of al-Wāthiq is not mentioned elsewhere, as far as I know.

³⁸²18 Rabī I 227–23 Dhū l-Ḥijja 232 (26 December 841–10 August 847), in fact, five years and seven and a half months.

³⁸³Ms. *يسجدوا* *من سجدوا* *حتى من المبعد*; for *يسجدوا* read *يسجدوا*. The literal translation of this sentence would be: "the Jews prevented the Muslims from worshipping...", but this is most definitely unacceptable. A possible reading is *واليهود منعو [من] المسلمين من [أن] يسجدوا*. See the Introduction above, p. 34.

³⁸⁴Ms. *ذهنهم*; read *ذهنهم*.

³⁸⁵Ms. *يحملة*; read *يحملة* or *يحملة*.

From Adam to the death of Hārūn there were 5280 years.³⁸⁶ He was succeeded by his brother Ja'far,³⁸⁷ who afflicted the world with every kind [of affliction].³⁸⁸ He at first ordered that people should wear distinguishing clothes,³⁸⁹ except for the black and the blue, which he reserved for his faith. He ordered that there should be no scribe or public official (*āmīl*) except from his faith, and that there should be no one in charge of a fort or holding any kind of position except from his faith.³⁹⁰ There were Christians³⁹¹ whom he cast out, and he appointed all the officials³⁹² from his faith. He ordered that no one should wear a garment with an embroidered edge (*tirāz*)³⁹³ except the members of his faith,³⁹⁴ and that no one should ride a horse [except the members of his faith]. He commanded that every *dhimmī* should wear a distinguishing sign front and back,³⁹⁵ and that he should not sit in front

³⁸⁶The year AM 5280 = AH 233 (847–48 CE); see above, p. 75 n. 226. Al-Wāthiq's reign ended, in fact, in 232/847.

³⁸⁷Ja'far al-Mutawakkil, who reigned between 232/847 and 247/861.

³⁸⁸Al-Mutawakkil's decrees are described in detail by al-Ṭabarī, III, 1389–94. See also translation, notes and bibliography in J.L. Kraemer, trans., *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXXIV: *Incipient Decline* (Albany, 1989), pp. 89–94. Concerning the legal status of the *dhimmīs* under Islam see A.S. Tritton, *The Caliphs and Their Non-Muslim Subjects* (London, 1930); A. Fattal, *Le statut legal des non-musulmans en pays d'Islam* (Beirut, 1958). In general, the prohibitions that appear here are parallel to those in al-Ṭabarī. Two statutes, however, are missing. The first is the decree that one tenth of the houses owned by *dhimmīs* should be confiscated; this decree was most likely not enacted, since if it had been, in Palestine or at least amongst its Samaritan population, it is hard to believe that it would have gone unmentioned. The other decree not mentioned in our text concerns the prohibition against *dhimmī* children being educated in Muslim schools. In this case it may have been that the Samaritan population did not feel constrained by this decree—they had no interest in giving their children a Muslim education—and therefore did not mention it.

³⁸⁹Ms. *غباران*; read *غباران*. In this context the reference is clearly to "clothes" rather than "signs", as Ms. p. 251:9, which may refer to badges as well.

³⁹⁰Ms. *ولا يكون احد على حصن ولا يحمل كان الا من امته*. Here the phrase *كان* may refer specifically to a prohibition against *dhimmīs* bearing any sort of arms.

³⁹¹Who held those positions.

³⁹²The word *المستخدمين* is partially obscured by an ink blot.

³⁹³See *EI*¹, s.v. "Ṭirāz".

³⁹⁴Ms. *اهل ملته*.

³⁹⁵According to al-Ṭabarī, this served as the distinguishing sign for the lower strata of society, who did not wear special mantles and hoods. The higher strata were distinguished, according to him, by the honey colour of their clothes. See al-Ṭabarī, III, 1389, 1392; al-Ṭabarī/Kraemer, *Incipient Decline*, pp. 89–90, 93.

on a velvet-like³⁹⁶ sofa,³⁹⁷ and that no one except the members of his own faith should have iron stirrups³⁹⁸—the rest [would have] wooden ones.³⁹⁹ He ordered that every grave resembling⁴⁰⁰ the graves of the members of his faith should be destroyed,⁴⁰¹ and the grave of the *ra'īs* Nethan'el was destroyed.

Before that occurred, he ordered that every *dhimmī* should affix to his door a wooden idol bearing the label of⁴⁰² "idol" (*wathan*).⁴⁰³ [240] The Samaritans who resided in Nablus, may God remember them favourably, having presented the governor of Nablus with something (i.e. a gift),⁴⁰⁴ asked him to grant them a delay so they could go down to Ramla, and he agreed to that. [Now] in Dājūn⁴⁰⁵ there was a man possessed of dignity and power,⁴⁰⁶ [242] whose word was accepted by the ruler (*sultān*), by the name of Abū

³⁹⁶Ms. *خمال*; read *خمال*. For this sense of the word, see W. Diem and H.P. Radenberg, *A Dictionary of the Arabic Material of S.D. Goitein's A Mediterranean Society* (Wiesbaden, 1994), p. 61.

³⁹⁷Undoubtedly during grand occasions and ceremonies, when these were reserved for those of honourable rank. For this sense of *martaba* see J. Sadan, *Le mobilier au proche orient medieval* (Leiden, 1976), pp. 54–55.

³⁹⁸See al-Ṭabarī, III, 1389.

³⁹⁹Ms. *جديد*; read *حديد*. See al-Ṭabarī, III, 1393, where it is also specified that the *dhimmīs* could only use wooden stirrups.

⁴⁰⁰Ms. *يتشبه*; read *يتشبه*.

⁴⁰¹Cf. al-Ṭabarī, III, 1390: *وأمر بتسوية قبورهم لئلا تشبه قبور المسلمين*, "In addition, he ordered that their graves be made level with the ground so as not to resemble the graves of the Muslims" (trans. Kraemer, p. 91).

⁴⁰²Ms. *ويستمي*, i.e. *ويستمي*, in the sense of *تسمى*.

⁴⁰³See al-Ṭabarī, III, 1390, who calls these idols *ṣuwar shayātīn*, "images of devils". The reason given for this is cited by E. Ashtor, "The Social Isolation of Ahl Adh-Dhimma", in O. Komlós, ed., *Études orientales à la mémoire de Paul Hirschler* (Budapest, 1950), p. 80 (repr. in *The Medieval Near East: Social and Economic History*, London 1978): "if the houses of the *dhimmīs* will not bear distinctive signs the beggars approaching them will beg Allāh's mercy upon them and His forgiveness for their sins, and this—say the theologians—is absolutely forbidden". This was surely a restriction that was meant to be derogatory, since *shayṭān* and *wathan* were definitely negative terms.

⁴⁰⁴Ms. *بشي*; read *بشي* (L.C.).

⁴⁰⁵A Samaritan settlement near Ramla. It is miscopied here as *داحوس*; later on, Ms. p. 248:2, the correct name appears. See Geographical Appendix.

⁴⁰⁶The correct reading is: *وكان في داجون رجل قادر بجاه وقدره*. Concerning the term *sultān*, see above, p. 90 n. 375.

Yūsuf ibn Dhāsī,⁴⁰⁷ may his memory be forever blessed.⁴⁰⁸ He called on the governor and petitioned him, and [the governor] told him that it was not possible to annul the order of the king, but [said]: "Choose⁴⁰⁹ for yourself an image which is not offensive." He chose the image of a candelabrum that we make; it was put in an envelope, and he stamped it⁴¹⁰ and sent it to the governor of Nablus. [The governor] commanded that a Samaritan should only make [an image] like that which Yūsuf ibn Dhāsī⁴¹¹ made—[that is], a candelabrum. They rejoiced greatly in this and profusely thanked God, may He be praised and exalted. As for those [Samaritans] who were in [the province of] Jordan, this [concession] was not granted to them, and an image was made [by them] like the other peoples according to the law.⁴¹²

In his days it was decreed that⁴¹³ a man shall not raise his voice in prayer, and shall not raise a voice in ...;⁴¹⁴ a funeral shall not be seen, and a *dhimmī* shall not lift his face to a Muslim's⁴¹⁵ face in order to speak or respond to him.⁴¹⁶

All of these troubles came upon us in the days of the *ra'īs* Pinhas and in the days of the *ra'īs* Yōsha'; we were prevented from [observing] the precepts (*aḥkām*),⁴¹⁷ [243] and the Samaritans remained like a herd without a shepherd—all the Samaritans did as they liked.

⁴⁰⁷Here "Dāsī", but later on the name appears as "Dhāsī"/"Adhāsī"; see Ms. pp. 243:5, 248:3, 253:7, and below, p. 99 n. 472. This seems to have been quite a distinguished family in Dājūn.

⁴⁰⁸Samaritan Aramaic: *זכיר לטב עד לעולם*.

⁴⁰⁹Ms. *اختار لك*, *sic*! See Blau, *Grammar*, I, 185. Or perhaps: "I will choose for you an image which is not offensive".

⁴¹⁰For the use of *اخم* in this sense see Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 351.

⁴¹¹Ms. *داسي*. See above, n. 407.

⁴¹²Ms. *على الطريق*; for this meaning see Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire*, II, 78.

⁴¹³Here the scribe switches suddenly to Arabic in Samaritan script. The following is the transcription: *لا يرفع احد صوته في صلاة ولا يرفع صوت في فنيقة ولا يرا جنينة ولا يرفع ذمي وجهه في وجه جوي من ان يقول له ويجاوبه*.

⁴¹⁴This word, written here quite distinctly in Samaritan script, is transcribed in Arabic as *فنيقة*. I could not find any meaning for it in Arabic or in other Semitic languages.

⁴¹⁵The word used here is *goy*, in Hebrew, literally a man belonging to a different faith, a non-Jewish person.

⁴¹⁶Ms. *ויגאבו*, implying *ויגאבו*, i.e. two words. But the correct reading is clearly *ויגאבו*, "and to respond to him" (L.C.). Here ends the Samaritan script.

⁴¹⁷See above, p. 73 n. 216. This event is mentioned above, p. 89.

On Saturday, on the first day of the Feast of Tabernacles, in the second hour, there was a great earthquake; but Almighty God's mercy sheltered [us], and no one was harmed. The people went up to pray on the Feast of Tabernacles in the seventh year of the reign of Ja'far.⁴¹⁸ In the third year after the Sabbatical Year, the governor of Ramla (*wālī*) seized⁴¹⁹ Yūsuf ibn Dhāsī and they⁴²⁰ detained him. The poll tax⁴²¹ (*jālīya*) was multiplied, and he prevented him from going up to the mountain with the Samaritans. The governor of Nablus prohibited them⁴²² from raising their voices in prayer and from blowing the horn.⁴²³ They prayed on that day, and on Thursday they went up and prayed in raised voices, and no one hindered them. But the Dositheans were prevented from [joining in] the prayer until they were excluded even from the recitation (?) of the book (i.e. the Torah).⁴²⁴ The Samaritans continued to fare well throughout the days of Yūsuf ibn Dhāsī until his death, may God rest his soul. The Dositheans shouted⁴²⁵ and clamoured⁴²⁶ in a loud offensive⁴²⁷ voice at his death. [As a result,] the *ra'īs* Pinḥas commanded that they should not give or take [anything] from them ever⁴²⁸ [244] and that no one should eat with them or drink with them.

On Thursday, which fell upon the fourth day of Tishrīn, stars⁴²⁹ were

⁴¹⁸I.e. 239/853–54. Al-Suyūṭī, *Kashf al-ṣalṣala 'an waṣf al-zalzala*, ed. 'A.L. al-Sa'dānī (Fez, 1971), p. 26, mentions an earthquake in Tiberias that also occurred in AH 239.

⁴¹⁹Ms. *مسك*; read *مسك*.

⁴²⁰Presumably the Muslim authorities, or the governor's officials.

⁴²¹See above, pp. 57 n. 87, 82 n. 299.

⁴²²Here follows Samaritan script once more: *من رفع اصواتهم في الصلاة ولا يضربو بوق* (sic!).

⁴²³Literally "trumpet", here presumably the traditional horn or shofar.

⁴²⁴The sentence *بل الدستان منعوا من الصلاة الي ما انتهوا من تلبية الكتاب* is problematic. I could not find any specific reference to the term *talbiya* in Samaritan literature. However, since the term also acquired the meaning of "psalmody" (see *EI*², s.v.), it may well be that this word was adopted for "recitation of the Torah". Another possibility would be the blessings before the reading; in this case, the blessings would be conceived as *لييك*, a formula of presenting oneself before God.

⁴²⁵Ms. *يعجو*, which could be read either as *يعتجو*, which is irregular, or as *يعيجو*, in which case it would be a *mediae geninatae* behaving like *mediae infirmae*. See Blau, *Grammar*, I, 167.

⁴²⁶Ms. *يغاغوا*; cf. *غاغة*, a "mob", and hence the noise of clamour that a mob makes.

⁴²⁷Ms. *بشفي*; read *بشفي*.

⁴²⁸There is a superfluous repetition here: *وامر الرئيس فينحاس امر ان*.

⁴²⁹The noun appears here in the plural, but both verbs are singular.

seen falling⁴³⁰ at night from the east towards the west⁴³¹ and towards the south—a momentous event.⁴³² The [price of] flour reached two measures per *dīnār*; after four days there came a great sandstorm and the flour was sold... days...⁴³³ After this, Almighty God blessed and conferred favour and relieved the world.

The *ra'īs* Pinḥas passed away, and his son 'Abd'el took his place. [Then] there came a great rise in prices and three *uqqāt*⁴³⁴ of flour were sold for a *dīnār*. Many people were compelled to take charity because of the pains in their stomach⁴³⁵ and the hunger. How many left their faith as a result of the terrible rise in prices, and because they were exhausted by the *jizya*! Many sons and families who left the faith were lost. [But] God in His mercy watched over him who endured patiently, and comforted him with satiety and well-being.

During the reign of Ja'far there was a great event—a great wonder.⁴³⁶ This was that Almighty God caused two towns with their inhabitants to be swallowed up, and their inhabitants were buried alive (lit. "remained") as they were [when the earth swallowed them up].⁴³⁷

⁴³⁰Lit. "being thrown", *ترمي* instead of *يرمي*.

⁴³¹Ms. *غروب*; one expects *غرب*.

⁴³²This meteor storm is mentioned in al-Ṭabarī, III, 1426; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 600, who report that this storm took place on 1 Jumādā II 241 (17 October 855). This is quite consistent with our text, which does not give the year (although it seems to be shortly after AH 239; see above, p. 94 n. 418) but reports that it took place on Thursday, on 4 Tishrīn. The Samaritans did not use the Babylonian month names adopted by the Jews after their return from the Babylonian exile, but adhered to the ordinal numbers in their ritual calendar; the Babylonian names, on the other hand, were employed for the Julian calendar (on this subject see Powels, "The Samaritan Calendar", pp. 703–705); the name Tishrīn here therefore refers to the month of October. Although the *Continuatio* specifies the date as 4 October, and not the 17th, it is no doubt the same event mentioned by al-Ṭabarī and al-Ya'qūbī.

⁴³³There seems to be some confusion on the part of the copyist here. The sentence reads: *وبعد اربعة ايام جا سموم عظيم وابيع القمع ايام ومن بعد هذا انعم الله...*

⁴³⁴Ms. *افاب*, for which L.C. suggests *افات*, pl. of *أفة*. As attested in Ottoman times, the Syrian *uqqa* was about 1.3 kilograms; see W. Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte* (Leiden, 1955), p. 24.

⁴³⁵Ms. *المغل*, i.e. intestinal pains caused by the swallowing of earth while eating green herbs (in this case no doubt as a result of extreme hunger). See Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire*, I, 1133. L.C. suggests *المقل*, "destitution".

⁴³⁶Here *معجز* rather than *معجزة*.

⁴³⁷The last part of the sentence could also be understood as "they remained as they

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[245] This Ja'far came to Damascus and built a fortress in it;⁴³⁸ he remained there a short while and then returned to his city.⁴³⁹ He counted the trees,⁴⁴⁰ the shops, the taverns, the bath-houses,⁴⁴¹ the seeds,⁴⁴² and the presses. He counted the *jizya*⁴⁴³ and annulled the appellations (*alqāb*), [ordering that] each person should be called by his [proper] name, and [so] increased the *jizya*.

In his days came a man called Qūmaṭī,⁴⁴⁴ he arrived outside Nablus, and the governor (*muqaddam*) of Nablus came out to meet him and attacked him. The governor of Nablus was defeated and fled from the sword; there was killing,⁴⁴⁵ and the army's camp was looted. Many of the Samaritans fled on that Saturday and [were in] fear of the sword. The Samaritans of Kafr Tiya,

were", i.e. unharmed. Suyūṭī, *Kashf*, pp. 26–27, reports that in Sha'bān 242/December 856 there was a series of earthquakes throughout the east, from Tunisia to Khurāsān, including Syria and Palestine.

⁴³⁸Ibn 'Asākir mentions that when al-Mutawakkil came to Damascus he built a huge fortress in Dārāyā (a village near Damascus, see Yāqūt, II, 536); see Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar*, VI, 87.

⁴³⁹Al-Mutawakkil moved his residence to Damascus on 21 Šafar 244 (8 June 858). As a result of the decision to move, he initiated several building projects. Al-Ṭabarī says only that "he gave orders for building in Damascus", while al-Ya'qūbī mentions the building of *quṣūr*; on the complexity of this term see L.I. Conrad, "The *Quṣūr* of Medieval Islam", *Al-Abḥath* 29 (1981), pp. 7–24. See al-Ṭabarī, III, 1436 (trans. Kraemer, pp. 151–52); al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 600. According to al-Ṭabarī, al-Mutawakkil disliked the conditions in Damascus and decided to leave. His stay there lasted two months and several days.

⁴⁴⁰See Ms. pp. 229:7, 249:1; also above, p. 79.

⁴⁴¹Ms. *حمايات*, to which the reading *حمامات* seems preferable.

⁴⁴²Ms. *والبدود*; read *والبدور*, literally "seeds", but here perhaps referring to granaries or threshing floors.

⁴⁴³This survey, which was meant to reevaluate property and possessions, is possibly referred to by al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 599, who mentions that in 240/854–55 representatives of the vizirate claimed that the taxes of the lands of Damascus and Urdunn had to be reevaluated by the office of the *kharāj*; the payment due was then imposed upon each land.

⁴⁴⁴This may well be al-Qiṭāmī, a rebel from Banū Lakhm whom the governor of Jund Filastīn repeatedly failed to defeat, until finally he was defeated by a Turk named Muzāḥim ibn Khāqān, who is mentioned later on in our text. See Gil, *History of Palestine*, p. 299, who quotes al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 605. The *Continuatio* dates this rebellion to the days of al-Mutawakkil, while al-Ya'qūbī dates it to the rule of al-Musta'in (248–52/862–66).

⁴⁴⁵Ms. *وقتل من قتل*; read *وقُتِلَ مَنْ قُتِلَ*, lit. "those who were killed were killed", a common tautology expressing the notion of relatively moderate but unspecified casualties (L.C.).

[who] related the story, suffered with those who fled, but those who reached the coast were not harmed. They came to Bayt Šāmā, but the Dositheans did not flee, for they had in mind a plan [against them]. They entered Bayt Šāmā on Saturday night, and seized Ibn Amtī, an upright⁴⁴⁶ man, and those accompanying him; they piled straw around them and burned them, and killed seventeen men, good⁴⁴⁷ people. They were defeated on Saturday; [some] of them were captured, and they destroyed and burned the fort.⁴⁴⁸

[246] The governor (*wālī*) of Ramla sent a man called Ashrakaṣī, a powerful man, and with him a great army. He went up to Nablus and continued to Bayt Šāmā, Zaytā, and Būrīn (?), and waged war upon Qūmaṭī. Ashrakaṣī killed many people from both sides. There came upon the people great misfortune, scarcity, affliction, and terrible fear, and the people fled from the sword to Ramla. [Then] from the east there came a man called Muzāḥim,⁴⁴⁹ and Qūmaṭī⁴⁵⁰ departed and imposed himself⁴⁵¹ upon the governor (*muqaddam*) of [Jund] al-Urdunn. Then Muzāḥim came and seized many men from Jordan. . . ⁴⁵²the scarcity extended to Ifrīqiya, and they ate human flesh because of the lack [of food]. Then he⁴⁵³ went down to Egypt, and Almighty God brought peace upon the earth, and everyone returned to his country.

Ja'far was killed at the hand of his son, and [his son] ruled after him for six

⁴⁴⁶Ms. *انسان سوا*; read *انسان سوي*. See Lane, *Lexicon*, I.3, 1479, *رجل سوي*.

⁴⁴⁷Ms. *من ناس السور*; read *من ناس السوي/السواء*. An alternative reading of *السوء* results in a completely different meaning: "wicked people". For this form of *سوء*, see also Ms. p. 247, in the margin.

⁴⁴⁸This whole episode is written carelessly; it is difficult to discern which "they" is being referred to here. It may be the Dustān who are attacking Ibn Amtī, a bad man from al-Qiṭāmī's army, or perhaps al-Qiṭāmī's men who are attacking the Dustān, or just Samaritans living in Bayt Šāmā who are considered here good people (or perhaps the Dustān are bad?). When Ashrakaṣī's army finally arrives, it is not explicit which the "both sides" are that he attacks and kills. If al-Qiṭāmī and his men defeated the Dustān or the Samaritans here, then Ashrakaṣī killed men both from them and from al-Qiṭāmī's army.

⁴⁴⁹Ms. *مراحم*; read *مراحم*. See above, p. 96 n. 444.

⁴⁵⁰The form *قوطني* appearing here is closer to *قطامي* than the form *قومطي* which appeared above.

⁴⁵¹Ms. *طرح روحه على فلان*; see Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 30–31. *طرح روحه على فلان* can mean either "to implore s.o.'s mercy" or "to impose o.s. upon s.o.". The latter meaning seems to be the more likely in this case.

⁴⁵²Although there is no indication in the text, there must be something missing here.

⁴⁵³Presumably Muzāḥim.

months.⁴⁵⁴ Much befell him: the roads were emptied of travelers, adversity and fear increased, and al-Baṣra, [the] great city, was wiped out.⁴⁵⁵ Many Samaritans were killed, and villages, women and children were plundered.

In the days of the *imām* 'Abd'el the moon was seen on the Saturday at the beginning of the month, [247] and the computation of the fast was renewed.⁴⁵⁶ 'Abd'el was in office for sixteen years; he died and was buried in the fort of 'Awartā.⁴⁵⁷

After that came a man known as Majmūra; he oppressed the people and collected money. In his days there was a terrible rise in prices, such as had never before been seen; the people were impoverished and stripped of their possessions, and withdrew from their homes on account of the oppression and the hunger.

Al-Musta'im bi'llāh, brother of Ja'far, came to power⁴⁵⁸ and ruled two and a half years; he was deposed and was called "the deposed among the sons of Hāshim". After him came to power al-Mu'tazz, son of Ja'far, who ruled three years;⁴⁵⁹ after him came al-Muhtadī, son of al-Wāthiq, who ruled one year;⁴⁶⁰ after him came to power al-Mu'tamid, who ruled 24 years.⁴⁶¹ He had a brother whose name was Abū Muḥammad; he seized him and because of

⁴⁵⁴Al-Muntaṣir participated in the conspiracy of the Turkish soldiers against his father, due to his fear of losing the title of heir apparent after having lost favour in his father's eyes. See *EI* 2, s.v. "Al-Muntaṣir"; Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates*, pp. 170–71. Al-Muntaṣir did rule for six months, between 4 Shawwāl 247 (11 December 861) and 25 Rabī' I 248 (29 May 862), when he died at Sāmarrā.

⁴⁵⁵This last sentence seems to refer to a longer period of time, as is also reflected in the next sentences. The most notable fact here is the destruction of al-Baṣra, which was, in fact, attacked and destroyed by Zanj rebels in southern Iraq in 257/871. This event was preceded by anarchy and disorder that characterised the period from al-Mutawakkil's murder onwards, through the reigns of al-Muntaṣir, al-Musta'im, al-Mu'tazz and al-Muhtadī. See Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates*, pp. 171–81. This anarchy, caused by struggles against the Turkish mercenaries and amongst them, seems to be reflected in this sentence.

⁴⁵⁶Ms. وعاد [و] جدد الحساب الصوم.

⁴⁵⁷See Geographical Appendix.

⁴⁵⁸Al-Musta'im ruled between 248/862 and 252/866, and was in fact al-Mutawakkil's nephew, a grandson of al-Mu'taṣim. The information given here, claiming that he reigned two and a half years, is incorrect. On his abdication see al-Ṭabarī, III, 1642–43, 1645–56, where he is called *al-makhlū'* in several places throughout the verses.

⁴⁵⁹Ruled between 252/866 and 255/869. See *EI* 2, s.v. "al-Mu'tazz bi'llāh".

⁴⁶⁰Ruled between 255/869 and 256/870. See *EI* 2, s.v. "al-Muhtadī".

⁴⁶¹In reality 22 years, between 256/870 and 279/892.

his⁴⁶² wickedness⁴⁶³ put him in prison.⁴⁶⁴ Then Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn's⁴⁶⁵ men came forth and he descended upon Egypt with a strong force and took it over through cunning. There was a man there⁴⁶⁶ known as Majmūra... governor in Ramla, a governor by the name of 'Īsā ibn Ḥabash ibn Ṭūbūn.⁴⁶⁷ He⁴⁶⁸ devised a cunning plan, came to Palestine, and entered Caesarea. 'Īsā left in his hands a man [248] named al-Kūnalī in Kafar Sālim.⁴⁶⁹ He fought him, bound him in iron chains and brought him to Ramla.⁴⁷⁰ In Dājūn⁴⁷¹ there was a man called Fils ibn Dhāsī⁴⁷² who was in 'Īsā's service, and he said to him: "What is the point of this man remaining in prison?", and he let him go.

⁴⁶²Abū Aḥmad's wickedness presumably.

⁴⁶³This seems to refer to al-Mu'tamid's brother, al-Muwaffaq, called Abū Aḥmad, who was the de facto ruler of the realm during most of al-Mu'tamid's reign. Abū Aḥmad did, in fact, prevent his brother, the caliph, from travelling to Egypt and detained him in the palace at Jawsaq. See *EI* 2, VII, 766; Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates*, pp. 175–76.

⁴⁶⁴The sentence missing in the text is provided in the margin.

⁴⁶⁵The scribe did not recognize Ibn Ṭūlūn's name, and in two places copied ابن طوبون instead of ابن طولون. On the next page the name appears correctly.

⁴⁶⁶Ms. كان فيها رجل, with فيها referring to Egypt. There is no gap in the text, but it appears to be discontinuous a few words later, where the text is suddenly speaking about a governor in Ramla.

⁴⁶⁷There seems to be considerable confusion here, and there are probably several words, maybe more, missing. "Majmūra", mentioned already above, seems to refer to Amājūr, who replaced 'Īsā ibn al-Shaykh as governor of Syria (including Palestine) in 871, after the latter had rebelled against the caliphs al-Mu'tazz, al-Muhtadī and al-Mu'tamid between 866 and 871. See Gil, *History of Palestine*, pp. 299–300; Hassan, *Tulunides*, pp. 46–48. The governor 'Īsā ibn Ḥabash mentioned in the same sentence may well refer, therefore, to 'Īsā ibn al-Shaykh. The addition Ibn Ṭūbūn is clearly a misreading of Ibn Ṭūlūn, as previously (see above, n. 465), and is probably part of the disorder in these sentences. Amājūr died in 878, and Palestine and Syria were then taken over by Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn.

⁴⁶⁸It is not clear whether this alludes to Amājūr or to 'Īsā. It may be that this sentence describes the entry of Amājūr to Palestine in order to crush 'Īsā's rebellion.

⁴⁶⁹Ms. بكفر سالم; read بالفر سالم.

⁴⁷⁰Ms. وجابه; read وجاه (L.C.).

⁴⁷¹Ms. داجون; read داجون. This site has already been mentioned, Ms. p. 240:3; see Geographical Appendix.

⁴⁷²Obviously a member of the same distinguished family mentioned previously (above, p. 92; Ms. p. 242:2, 6), who lived in Dājūn, near Ramla, and had connections in the *wāh*'s court in Ramla. The name appears there twice as Dhāsī, while here and on Ms. p. 253:7 it appears clearly as Adhāsī.

He departed to Egypt⁴⁷³ and remained there two years. Outside the city⁴⁷⁴ he built himself a castle⁴⁷⁵ in the form of that built by . . .⁴⁷⁶ While he was digging he found money in a brazier;⁴⁷⁷ he bought black slaves and others beside them, and established prisons. He continued to Barqa, besieged it and took possession of it, and appointed there a governor; he then continued to Alexandria, and its people submitted to him.⁴⁷⁸ He wrote to Crete, on the frontier of Byzantium,⁴⁷⁹ and received a reply [offering] their submission. He then conquered the west (i.e. North Africa) and returned to Egypt, and it flourished by the mercy of Almighty God. Affliction was replaced by relief, and the earth was generous in its fruit⁴⁸⁰ and in everything that it bore,⁴⁸¹ the people ate and were satiated, and great satiety and well-being prevailed.⁴⁸²

After that the heavens held back the rain for three years, and the sky

⁴⁷³From what follows later it is clear that this refers to Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn, and not to ʿĪsā, as may at first seem.

⁴⁷⁴Ms. برا في; read من برا.

⁴⁷⁵Ibn Ṭūlūn did indeed build himself a magnificent new palace north of al-Fuṣṭāṭ, which was called al-Qaṭāʾi. Later, Saladin built there a citadel which still exists. See Hassan, *Tulunides*, pp. 48–49.

⁴⁷⁶Ms. الذي بنا صور/هيور. Alternatively, "In the form of the one he built in . . ."

⁴⁷⁷The word here is written بمحموره. It is spelt exactly the same way as Amājūr's name was spelt twice before, yet Amājūr is completely out of context here. بجمرة, "brazier" or "fireplace", is the only similar word that could make any sense here. This story is recorded by al-Balawī, who reports that Ibn Ṭūlūn built the new mosque with money that he found on top of the mountain in a place called Tannūr Farʿūn (a *tannūr* is a circular earthen oven). See al-Balawī, *Sīrat Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn*, ed. M. Kurd ʿAlī (Damascus, 1939), pp. 56–57.

⁴⁷⁸When Yārjūj was given Egypt as apanage, he invested Ibn Ṭūlūn with authority over the whole of Egypt, including Alexandria, Barqa and the frontier districts which were not formerly under his jurisdiction. However, there seems to be no corroboration to the claim that he took them by force. See Hassan, *Tulunides*, pp. 45–46.

⁴⁷⁹Iqriṭiya is one of several variants for Crete in Arabic. See *EI*², s.v. "Ikriṭish". Crete was in fact a continual skirmish ground between the Byzantines and the caliphate and during the period under discussion changed hands several times. See *ibid.*, III, 1083–84. However, although Ibn Ṭūlūn was engaged in several events along the Byzantine border, especially in Ṭarsūs (see Hassan, *Tulunides*, pp. 66–67), there is no evidence, as far as I know, of his involvement in Crete.

⁴⁸⁰Ms. علايا; read غلاتها. Cf. Ms. p. 249:4: وانجبت الارض غلاتها وثمرت الشجر, and Ms. p. 260:2: وانجبت الارض في غلاتها.

⁴⁸¹Lit. "and in everything in it".

⁴⁸²Ms. وحا; read وحا.

became like copper and the earth like iron⁴⁸³ in the winter [for a long]⁴⁸⁴ time. [249] The springs dwindled, the trees and the vegetation dried up, the trees dropped their blossoms, and there was a rise in prices so great that it led to fatalities. [Then] Almighty God conferred favour and sustained the people.⁴⁸⁵ After that Almighty God dispelled the grief of [His] creatures,⁴⁸⁶ rain fell, the earth produced its crops generously, and the trees bore fruit; the [price of] wheat reached eight *uqqāt*⁴⁸⁷ per *dīnār*, and God gave solace in His mercy and compassion.

[Afterwards] Yōshaʿ, the *raʿīs*, passed away and his brother Yūsuf took his place; Madī, his father's brother, contested him and the people broke up into two parties: some were with Yūsuf, while others were with Madī. There developed a great dispute among the Samaritans. Madī paid money to the ruler (*sultān*) of the land,⁴⁸⁸ and he rose and instructed and interpreted on the Feast of Tabernacles⁴⁸⁹ without the consent of the Samaritans. Around him stood a group of the retainers of the ruler;⁴⁹⁰ [they stood] around the Book of the Scroll,⁴⁹¹ [hence] the Book and the people became contaminated.⁴⁹² The people appealed for succor against him⁴⁹³ and hated him, and he left

⁴⁸³Deuteronomy 28:23.

⁴⁸⁴Smeared ink has obscured one word.

⁴⁸⁵Presumably هذا and not هذا, as in the text, which gives no sense.

⁴⁸⁶For فرج عنك in this sense see Lane, *Lexicon*, I.5, 2359, where he notes that فرج عنك is used as an abbreviated form of فرج الله عنك غمك, "May God remove your grief".

⁴⁸⁷Ms. اقاب; read اقات (L.C.). Cf. Ms. p. 244:7, and above, p. 95 n. 434.

⁴⁸⁸Ms. sic! السلطان الارض. Concerning the term *sultān*, see above, p. 90 n. 375. This term was also used in the early period in abstract form; see Ms. p. 254:7, and below, p. 107 n. 550.

⁴⁸⁹Ms. عيد المظال, or Succoth in Hebrew.

⁴⁹⁰Ms. السلاطان; read السلطان. See above, p. 101 n. 488.

⁴⁹¹Ms. كتاب المدرج, i.e. the Scroll of the Torah. See Vilmar, p. 58:12: المدرج الكبير, the "great scroll". See also *ibid.*, p. 60:4: الكتاب الكبير, the "great book".

⁴⁹²The Samaritans were notorious for their fear of contamination by gentiles, and were known from early times as crying in public "noli me tangere". This is recorded by Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion* 30:2, 3 (ed. K. Holl in *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller* XXV, Leipzig 1915, p. 334), who compares the Ebionites to the Samaritans on this matter. It is later mentioned in the Qurʾān in Sūra 20, vv. 87–97. On this subject see Fossum, "Sects and Movements," p. 348; I. Goldziher, "Lā Misāsa", *Révue africaine* 52 (1908), pp. 23ff.

⁴⁹³Ms. فيه, where one expects عليه. In this context استغاثوا الناس فيه can only be in the sense of "against him".

for Damascus. The letter of the heads of the Samaritans⁴⁹⁴ was to be taken from them, and the ruler (*sultān*) ordered the seizure of a group of the Samaritans and incarcerated them until they agreed to pay a great sum of money, [250] which they divided among the villages according to their ability. They inflicted upon the people all sorts of punishments, and many of the people left their religion. He⁴⁹⁵ departed again to the East in order to bring back with him the letters of appointment,⁴⁹⁶ but Almighty God sent against him a black man who killed him. Word reached the ruler that the Samaritans killed him, [so] he seized the Samaritan leaders (*muqaddamī l-sāmira*) for punishment.⁴⁹⁷ He exacted from them a large sum of money, the amount exacted from them coming to 15,000 *dīnārs*. The affliction wrought upon the Samaritans intensified, and they diminished both in their possessions and their faith; but Almighty God brought relief to whoever endured this patiently. [Then] the king (*malik*) died,⁴⁹⁸ and there came [a time of] well-being, ease⁴⁹⁹ and joy.

When Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn, king of Egypt, heard that the king⁵⁰⁰ had died,

⁴⁹⁴Ms. كتاب رواسا السامرة. and below, كتاب الرياسة. This refers to the letter of appointment usually given by the caliph to the heads of the different religious communities. On this subject, see C.E. Bosworth, "Christian and Jewish Religious Dignitaries in Mamlūk Egypt and Syria: Qalqashandī's Information on their Hierarchy, Titulature, and Appointment", *IJMES* 3 (1972), pp. 59–74, 199–216. The words *ra'īs* (or *rayyis*) and *ri'āsa* were the accepted terms for the leader and leadership of the Jewish community (which in Egypt also included the Samaritans); see *ibid.*, pp. 70–71; S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, II: *The Community* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1971), pp. 23–40, 527 n. 41; M. Cohen, *Jewish Self-Government in Medieval Egypt* (Princeton, 1980), pp. 14–15. Another such document given to the Nestorian Catholicos was first partially published by A. Mingana, "A Charter of Protection Granted to the Nestorian Church in A.D. 1138, by Muktafi II, Caliph of Bagdad," *BJRL* 10 (1926), pp. 127–33; for a complete edition and translation of the text, see L.I. Conrad, "A Nestorian Diploma of Investiture from the *Tadhkira* of Ibn Hamdūn: the Text and its Significance", in W. al-Qāḍī, ed., *Studia Arabica et Islamica: Festschrift for Ihsān 'Abbās* (Beirut, 1981), pp. 83–104.

⁴⁹⁵Presumably Maḍī.

⁴⁹⁶Ms. محب; read محب. Cf. Blau, *Grammar*, I, 148, 179; II, 492–96.

⁴⁹⁷Here the text suddenly shifts to Arabic written in Samaritan script. The transcription is as follows: واخذ منهم مال كثير [وكان قدر] ما اخذ منهم خمسة عشر الف دينار.

⁴⁹⁸Although the word *malik* usually refers to the caliph, in this case it apparently refers to the death of Amājūr, governor of Syria (and Palestine), who died, in fact, in the year 264/878, the same year noted here. It was indeed then that Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn took over Palestine. See above, p. 99 n. 467.

⁴⁹⁹Ms. somewhat unclear. Read راحة, in the sense of CA راء (L.C.).

⁵⁰⁰By *malik*, "king", the governor of Syria is meant.

he marched forth at the head of a great army of blacks and others and arrived in Palestine in the month of Ḥazirān, in the fifth year after the Sabbatical Year, which was the year 264 of the reign of Islam.⁵⁰¹ The black soldiers brought ruin upon all the people and looted villages situated along the route; many women were defiled,⁵⁰² and great affliction came upon the people. He entered Ramla [251] and appointed a governor (*wāḥ*) there;⁵⁰³ he then continued on to Damascus and conquered and ruled over it, conquered the rest of the country, and then reached Antioch. He besieged it for a long period of time, killed its ruler, looted its property, and killed many people there; he appointed a governor who ruled on his behalf, and great sorrow came upon the Muslims.⁵⁰⁴ He returned with his army⁵⁰⁵ and oppressed the people, and commanded that provisions be brought to him and to the troops who were with him wherever he was to be found, and that draught animals⁵⁰⁶ [like-wise be brought] to every camp. He sent⁵⁰⁷ [his men] and seized the people's draught animals: they never would have believed that their draught animals would be taken from them, [so] they themselves let them go.⁵⁰⁸ He oppressed the people in every way.

⁵⁰¹The month of Ḥazirān 264 = June 878. According to Muslim sources, Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn did indeed leave Egypt in April 878; see Hassan, *Tulunides*, p. 65.

⁵⁰²For the lack of concord here in the gender of a preceding verb to its feminine subject, وطمأ نسا كثير, see Blau, *Grammar*, II, 281. For the verb طمأ, see above, pp. 67 n. 164, 73 n. 213.

⁵⁰³This is Muḥammad ibn Rafī', governor under Amājūr, whose appointment was reconfirmed by Ibn Ṭūlūn; see al-Kindī, *Wulāt*, p. 219.

⁵⁰⁴Ḥimṣ, Ḥamā and Aleppo did indeed accept Ibn Ṭūlūn's rule, while Sīmā al-Ṭawil, prefect of Antioch, refused to do so. In response, Ibn Ṭūlūn besieged the city for a long period until he finally captured it. According to al-Kindī, some local inhabitants who tired of the siege supplied him with information concerning its weak point. Antioch was taken, according to him, in Muḥarram 265 = September 878; Sīmā was killed and his property confiscated. There is no mention, however, of a great slaughter such as is described here. See al-Kindī, *Wulāt*, pp. 219–220; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-mawā'iz wa-l-i'tibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār* (Bulaq, AH 1270), I, 320; Hassan, *Tulunides*, p. 66.

⁵⁰⁵He returned most probably to Palestine, on his way back to Egypt (see al-Kindī, *Wulāt*, pp. 219–20). Before he started on his way back he spent some time in Ṭarsūs: see Hassan, *Tulunides*, p. 66.

⁵⁰⁶I.e. beasts used for work and transportation.

⁵⁰⁷Ms. ارسل; read ارسل.

⁵⁰⁸Presumably believing that they would be returned to them. Another possibility is: "and that they would be left in need of them" (L.C.). For this sense of صدق, see Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire*, I, 1323. Ms. يخلوهم; read يخلوهم.

In the second year a governor (*wālī*) came to [rule over] the people on his behalf and oppressed [them] in every way; he ordered that the *dhimmīs*⁵⁰⁹ should wear distinguishing signs, engraved (lit. made) idols on their doors,⁵¹⁰ [ordered that] a *dhimmī* should not raise his head in the presence of a Muslim (lit. *goy*), that he should not raise his voice in prayer, and that he should not blow the horn. He also destroyed a synagogue of the Jews.⁵¹¹ All the religious communities were in fear of him, lest he extend [his] hand to their houses of worship so as to put them to his own use.⁵¹²

He prohibited the drinking of wine⁵¹³ and oppressed [them] in every possible manner, and his Muslim subjects⁵¹⁴ who were in the villages [252] behaved overbearingly towards the *dhimmīs*.⁵¹⁵ He plundered everything he found, and the curse written in the Holy Law⁵¹⁶ was fulfilled: "The sojourner who is among you shall mount above you higher and higher, and you shall come down lower and lower".⁵¹⁷

In the days of his rule he sent an order to seize all the people from the villages [and take them] to Egypt. Amongst those who were seized was a group of Samaritans, whom he conveyed to Egypt in ships. He ordered that a fortress be built overlooking Jaffa,⁵¹⁸ and he took all the draught animals and impoverished the people⁵¹⁹ in every possible way—in their property and in their bodies. He restored al-Fuṣṭāṭ and renovated it, because it had gone

⁵⁰⁹Ms. الدم; read الذمم, i.e. الذمة.

⁵¹⁰Here the text shifts back and forth between Arabic script and Samaritan script. The transcription is as follows: وعمل على ابوابهم اوثان ولا يرفع ذمي راسه بين يدي جوي وصلاة لا يرفع فيها صوت ولا يضرب بيق ودم نيسه ليهود وخافت منه كل الامم هوا مد يد علي كنايسهم . . . بان يخدموهم وبطل شرب النبيذ وضيق بكل فن ورعية امته . . . Cf. the next two notes below.

⁵¹¹Ms. وهدم كنيسة ليهود; read ودم نيسه ليهود.

⁵¹²Ms. يخدموهم, in the sense of يستخدموهم; see Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 354.

⁵¹³The word used here is *nabīdh*; this is an alcoholic drink usually made of raisins or dates. It could, however, also mean "wine expressed from grapes" (Lane, *Lexicon*, I.7, 2757).

⁵¹⁴Lit. those subjects who were of his religion.

⁵¹⁵Ms. الدم; read الذمم.

⁵¹⁶I.e. the Pentateuch.

⁵¹⁷Deuteronomy 28:43.

⁵¹⁸See al-Balawī, *Sīrat Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn*, pp. 184, 351. This is also mentioned by Ibn Khaldūn; see Gil, *History of Palestine*, p. 308 and n. 74, quoting *Kitāb al-ibar* (Beirut, 1958), IV, 652.

⁵¹⁹Ms. معر بالناس, = امره, "he reduced him to poverty": see Lane, *Lexicon*, I.6, 2724.

to ruin, having changed hands (?)⁵²⁰ a number of times. We lived in fear day and night, and all the people were in difficulty;⁵²¹ everyday life⁵²² became hard to bear, and all the people became poor and were stripped of all their amenities and possessions. All this took place in the days of Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn.

At that time he added to the oppression of the people in every possible way: he seized all the draught animals, and the people were compelled to use cows⁵²³ in the mills. That wicked young man Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn arrived in the days of the *imām* El'azar, in the year 269 of the reign of Islam;⁵²⁴ there descended upon the people an affliction that has not been known nor encountered, and excessive pestilence; [253] there was not one who did not mourn. The people remained⁵²⁵ in affliction, and the pestilence lasted for six months. The people's looks altered as a result of the disease, and only a few people went up to the mountain (i.e. Gerizim) on the Feast of Tabernacles. After that Almighty God brought favour upon the world and remembered the covenant of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. Above and beyond every other benefaction, Ibn Ṭūlūn was defeated;⁵²⁶ he stopped in Damascus,⁵²⁷ where fatal illness befell him, and was carried hurriedly to Egypt.⁵²⁸ There was a governor in Ramla by the name of 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Faṭḥ, and when he heard of [Ibn Ṭūlūn's] death he started oppressing the people⁵²⁹ and exacted much

⁵²⁰Ms. في التقاف; perhaps في التقاف (L.C.).

⁵²¹The colloquial style here is typical of this text, which seems to give a spoken account rather than a written one.

⁵²²Ms. الحيا الحاليه (*sic!*). This form of *حياة* may be due to an incidental omission of the *tā' marbūṭa*, yet it may also be the "correct" spelling, since similar cases do indeed occur in Christian Palestinian Arabic. See Blau, *Grammar*, I, 120–21.

⁵²³As opposed to draught animals, i.e. oxen, donkeys, or mules.

⁵²⁴I.e. 882–83 CE. On this occasion Ibn Ṭūlūn journeyed northwards to secure his rule in Ṭarsūs. See Hassan, *Tulunides*, pp. 82–83.

⁵²⁵Ms. وبقي; read وبقي.

⁵²⁶This refers to his failure to take over Ṭarsūs. After a long unsuccessful siege, Ibn Ṭūlūn at first withdrew to al-Maṣīṣa, where he fell ill. He then started on his way back to Egypt. See Hassan, *Tulunides*, pp. 90–91.

⁵²⁷Other sources (*ibid.*) refer to him passing through Antioch on his route back to Egypt; there is no mention of Damascus in any of the other sources.

⁵²⁸Ibn Ṭūlūn died in Dhū l-Qa'da 270/March 884.

⁵²⁹Ms. واخذ تضيق علي الناس; the use of form V of the verb rather than II in this sense is irregular.

money from them. He arrested Ibn Dhāsī,⁵³⁰ pressured him [for funds] and exacted much money from him, and made up his mind to punish him. When Ibn Dhāsī learned of this, he fled to the mountains and caves and remained there.

Ibn Ṭūlūn was succeeded⁵³¹ by three sons: al-‘Abbās, Khumārawayh,⁵³² and Abū l-‘Ashā’ir. Al-‘Abbās was killed⁵³³ by his brother Khumārawayh;⁵³⁴ Khumārawayh⁵³⁵ appointed⁵³⁶ two sons,⁵³⁷ one was ‘Abd Allāh, and the other Sa‘īd.⁵³⁸ When Ibn al-Faṭḥ heard of this he fled to the East; the rulers

⁵³⁰Ms. ابن اداسي. Concerning this family, see above, pp. 93 and n. 407, 99 n. 472.

⁵³¹كان is used here as an auxiliary verb of خلف, which is a common feature of MA. See Blau, *Grammar*, II, 432.

⁵³²Apparently the copyist did not recognize the name. Here and elsewhere he chose to write جمان instead of خمار, which in fact seems to be some form of خمارويه.

⁵³³Ms. وقيل; read وقتل.

⁵³⁴Ibn Ṭūlūn had, in fact, 33 children, seventeen of whom were sons. The names mentioned here are three of eight names known to us. Khumārawayh was Ibn Ṭūlūn's heir and reigned from 884 to 896. Al-‘Abbās, his first-born son, known as his hated son, tried to revolt against his father and failed. Abū l-‘Ashā’ir headed the Egyptian troops in the battle against al-Muwaffaq. On the successors of Ibn Ṭūlūn see Hassan, *Tulunides*, pp. 107–45.

⁵³⁵Following is the story of the hostilities between Khumārawayh and his men on one side, and two generals of al-Muwaffaq: the legal apanagist of Egypt, Ishāq ibn Kundāj, who was in charge of al-Jazīra and al-Mawṣil at the time, and Ibn Abī l-Sāj, who ruled over al-Kūfa; these were joined by al-Muwaffaq's son, Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn al-Muwaffaq, who was to be the future caliph al-Mu‘taḍid. The latter group decided to challenge Khumārawayh's rule, which was not legally sanctioned by the caliph. They began by taking over central cities in Syria such as al-Raqqā, Qinnasrīn, Ḥimṣ, Aleppo, and Antioch. In response, Khumārawayh sent his army. The first battle at Shayzar on the Orontes ended in the defeat of Khumārawayh's troops; then Damascus was also taken in February 885. The final battle, which took place at al-Tawāḥīm (“The Mills”, Antipatris, near Ramla) on Tuesday, 5 April 885 (see Gil, *History of Palestine*, p. 308), ended in the victory of Khumārawayh's troops, headed by Sa‘d al-Aysar, after the commanders of both sides fled from the battlefield. See al-Kindī, *Wulāt*, pp. 233–36; Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, IV, 305–306; Hassan, *Tulunides*, pp. 109–14.

⁵³⁶Ms. وخلق; read وخلق. See below, p. 107 nn. 539, 541.

⁵³⁷Ms. ابين; read ابين, “two sons”, although from the next sentence it is clear that these are *muqaddamūn*, i.e. supervisors or governors appointed over Palestine by Khumārawayh. He did in fact have two sons; however, their names were Abū l-‘Asākir Jaysh ibn Khumārawayh and Abū Mūsā Hārūn ibn Khumārawayh. See Hassan, *Tulunides*, pp. 134–38, 139–45.

⁵³⁸In fact, the names of the generals sent by Khumārawayh were Abū ‘Abd Allāh Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Wāsiṭī and Sa‘d al-Aysar. It is recorded that the Ṭūlūnid troops were

appointed⁵³⁹ by Khumārawayh ruled upon the whole land and appointed a governor (*wālī*) in Ramla who was called Iṣba‘, a mean man [254] who was from Bayt Fūrīk. He divided (?)⁵⁴⁰ money among the commanders appointed⁵⁴¹ by Khumārawayh...⁵⁴² in Palestine, [so] they departed and left him in charge of Palestine. They departed to Shayzar⁵⁴³ and waged war upon Shayzar against Ibn Abī l-Sāj and Ibn Abī Jūbāsh.⁵⁴⁴ There was a great massacre there, and they returned to Damascus; they did not let them⁵⁴⁵ in, so they came to Tiberias but could not stop. When ‘Abd Allāh [al-Wāsiṭī] learnt that⁵⁴⁶ the people had already⁵⁴⁷ resolved to try to overcome him,⁵⁴⁸ he went there (i.e. to Ramla) and left Sa‘īd (i.e. Sa‘d al-Aysar) behind. He came to Ramla, seized it, and appointed for that...⁵⁴⁹ He received a letter from the government⁵⁵⁰ that he should collect money, so he arrested Iṣba‘ and imprisoned him.⁵⁵¹ When Sa‘īd heard [this] he pursued him in a great fury and killed 130 of the best of his officers (*muqaddamīn*) who were with

indeed first in Palestine before they continued northwards. See Hassan, *Tulunides*, pp. 110–11.

⁵³⁹Ms. خلو, but recognized as an error and crudely corrected; read خلف.

⁵⁴⁰Ms. صار, possibly from صور, “turn towards”, “divide”; see Lane, *Lexicon*, I.3, 1744.

⁵⁴¹Ms. خلا, crossed out and crudely corrected; read خلف.

⁵⁴²Ms. عزمه or غرمه. This is a very difficult sentence, and its reading is tentative only.

⁵⁴³Ms. سيجر throughout. In the Muslim sources this is spelt “Shayzar”. Shayzar is a town on the Orontes, where a detachment of the Ṭūlūnid troops was indeed defeated. See above, p. 106 n. 535; and Hassan, *Tulunides*, p. 111.

⁵⁴⁴Ms. دجوباش. Concerning these events and persons, see above, p. 106 n. 535. The text here is faulty; the name of the second general is Ishāq ibn Kundāj, as mentioned above.

⁵⁴⁵Although the text has له, it seems it should be لهم. In February 885 the caliph's army took over Damascus (Hassan, *Tulunides*, p. 111), and it is clear therefore why the Ṭūlūnid troops could not enter the city.

⁵⁴⁶Presumably بان الناس.

⁵⁴⁷Ms. قد; read قد (L.C.).

⁵⁴⁸Ms. يسابقوا; read يسابقوا (L.C.).

⁵⁴⁹There seem to be a few words missing here: ... وجعل لذلك, probably a reference to an appointment.

⁵⁵⁰The term *sultān* is used here in its early abstract form; see *EI*², s.v. “Sultān”, and above, pp. 90 n. 375, 101 n. 488. This probably refers to the caliph or to al-Muwaffaq or his son, since al-Wāsiṭī was inclined to be on their side at this stage.

⁵⁵¹This part was copied by mistake and then crossed off on Ms. pp. 240–41. The text there has المال بجي instead of المال بجي and وسجنه instead of وسجنه. It seems, however, that the text here is preferable.

him, and also killed a great many of his men.⁵⁵² 'Abd Allāh fled and came to his brother Hārūn.⁵⁵³ The Muslims he met⁵⁵⁴ in Damascus ...⁵⁵⁵ and said to him:⁵⁵⁶ "Ṭūlūn has died, and there is no one who will challenge you." He came to Palestine and wrote to Sa'id that he should come and join him. When his letter reached Sa'id and he read it, he sent it to Egypt to Khumārawayh and informed Khumārawayh. [Khumārawayh] set out for Palestine and arrived [255] at Ramla with an immense number of troops, [consisting of] blacks, Berbers and others. He camped at Ra's al-'Ayn, which is the camping site for armies,⁵⁵⁷ then sent to Iṣba' and said to him: "Gather for me every bandit in the land". Then Ibn Abū Aḥmad,⁵⁵⁸ brother of Hārūn, of Banū Hāshim, came with his troops and descended upon Ra's al-'Ayn. The two sides fought there, and many from both sides were killed. Ibn Aḥmad al-Hāshimī fled, and 'Isā pursued him assiduously⁵⁵⁹ all the way to Caesarea. A great misfortune came upon the people and the curse was fulfilled: "You will wear yourself out for it, and people you do not know will eat it".⁵⁶⁰

He oppressed the people in every matter, and many villages came to ruin. [When] Khumārawayh heard that Sa'id had rebelled against him, he came to

⁵⁵²As far as I know, this story about the hostilities in Palestine between Khumārawayh's two generals is not found elsewhere.

⁵⁵³As becomes evident on the next page, the reference is to Hārūn ibn al-Muwaffaq, brother of Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn al-Muwaffaq, who was to be the future caliph al-Mu'taḍid (see above, p. 106 n. 535). See al-Ṭabarī, III, 2040.

⁵⁵⁴Ms. لقته; read لقيه.

⁵⁵⁵Ms. p. 240pu reads: وقال له المسلمون قد مات; Ms. p. 254:10-11 bears وقال له ان ابن طولون قد مات lacuna.

⁵⁵⁶Here follows the story of al-Wāsiṭī's treachery. Having been sent together with Sa'd al-Aysar to Syria, he reported to al-Muwaffaq or to his son and advised him to march against Egypt since Khumārawayh was weak and incapable of defending himself. See al-Kindī, *Wulāt*, p. 234; Hassan, *Tulunides*, p. 110.

⁵⁵⁷Ms. العساكر; read العساكر. Ra's al-'Ayn is the Arabic name of Antipatris, also called al-Tawāhīn, where the famous battle took place on 5 April 885; see above, p. 106 n. 535.

⁵⁵⁸Ibn Abū Aḥmad is identical with Ibn al-Muwaffaq, since al-Muwaffaq was known as Abū Aḥmad. See *EI*², III, 801.

⁵⁵⁹Ms. وكد, should be form II. For this sense of كدّ, see Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire*, II, 872.

⁵⁶⁰See Deuteronomy 28:33. As usual, this is a free citation. The passage, in fact, is: "A nation which you have not known will eat up the fruit of your land and of all your labours".

Ramla with a great army; once inside the city he seized⁵⁶¹ Sa'id and killed him⁵⁶² and appointed Iṣba' governor of [Jund] Filasṭīn and [Jund] al-Urdunn. [Iṣba'] oppressed the people, seized property, stripped the people of their possessions, and took their towns;⁵⁶³ many of the Samaritans abandoned their villages. There were five brothers, wicked people. ...⁵⁶⁴ [256]...⁵⁶⁵

[257] This blessed book was copied (?) by the pious elder 'Abd Allāh son of the orthodox elder Ibrahīm (?) al-Qabāṣī, may Almighty God make him blessed. Amen, O Lord of the Worlds. Written on the blessed day of Monday, the sixth of the month of Jumādā l-Ākhar, from among the months of the year 969,⁵⁶⁶ at the hand of the servant

Let him who finds any blemish correct the error
And exalt Him in whom there is no blemish.⁵⁶⁷

⁵⁶¹Ms. اأخذ; read أخذ.

⁵⁶²Sa'd al-Aysar, who was the champion of the battle of Ṭawāhīn and had gone on and captured Damascus, had apparently been disappointed that Khumārawayh had not responded with the appropriate appreciation, and therefore rebelled against him. See Gil, *History of Palestine*, pp. 309-10; Ibn Taghribirdī and al-'Aynī (cited by Hassan, *Tulunides*, pp. 113-14) report that Khumārawayh killed him in person. This occurred in Dhū l-Qa'da 272/May 886. See Hassan, *Tulunides*, pp. 113-14; al-Kindī, *Wulāt*, p. 236; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-zāhira*, IV, 51.

⁵⁶³قراهم is translated here as "towns", since the usual term for villages is ضياع, as at the end of the sentence.

⁵⁶⁴Here the text is cut off.

⁵⁶⁵This page contains the word نجز (Ms. بحر), "it is finished", an invocation: باسم الله

بسم الله العظيم الرحمن الرحيم الى اليوم given twice, a brief note stating that this was written during the day on Wednesday, 27 Muḥarram... and one paragraph of the chronicle, which is repeated on the next page.

⁵⁶⁶6 Jumādā II in fact fell on a Wednesday, while 6 Jumādā I fell on a Monday.

⁵⁶⁷Ms. هذا دفتر المبارك بسم الشيخ التقى عبد الله ابن الشيخ السني [ابراهيم القباصي] الله تعالى يجعله مباركا عليه امين يا رب العالمين كتب في نهار الاثنين المبارك سادس شهر جمادى الاخر من شهر

سنة تسع وستين وتسعمائة على يد الفقير ... ومن وجد عيبا فسد الخلا لخل من لا فيه عيبا وعلا This colophon, placed awkwardly in the middle of the text, was written in a non-book hand on Monday, 4 March 1560, that is, more than 36 years later than the colophon appearing at the end of the text on Ms. p. 264 (see below). It was written by a member of the same family, the colophon on p. 264 being written by Yūsuf ibn Ibrahīm ibn Hiba ibn Qabāṣ al-Sāmīrī, while this colophon was written by 'Abd Allāh son of Ibrahīm (?) al-Qabāṣī. The name Qabāṣ appears also several other times on Ms. pp. 266-69 in the names of other family members mentioned in owners' and readers' notes. It seems, therefore, that after

CHAPTER

In the year 297 of the reign of Islam⁵⁶⁸ there came a [swarm of] locusts; it multiplied⁵⁶⁹ and destroyed the trees and the crops and the world was filled⁵⁷⁰ with it—nothing remained that was not destroyed. [Then] the trees⁵⁷¹ bore fruit again, and God sent⁵⁷² welfare, mercy and satiety; flour reached twelve measures⁵⁷³ per *dīnār*, and oil rose to five measures per *dīnār*.⁵⁷⁴

[258] In the month of Kānūn al-Thānī there was snow for three days, so great as had never before been seen; after that came locusts, the like of which had not been seen, and afterwards a rise in prices.

In⁵⁷⁵ the year 369⁵⁷⁶ of Islam, in the days of the *ra'īs* 'Abd'el and of the *ra'īs* Dartā, they agreed⁵⁷⁷ upon the annulment of the reading in Aramaic⁵⁷⁸

having been copied by Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Hiba ibn Qabāš al-Sāmīrī, the book passed down in the family and other members left their notes in it.

I would suggest that the fact that this colophon appears in the middle of the text, on p. 257, is due to the fact that there was a lacuna in the original text, probably a section missing or badly damaged in the manuscript being copied by Yūsuf. In fact, the original text breaks off here and the next paragraph is clearly not an immediate continuation. This empty space was later filled in by a different hand, as can readily be observed. I would like to thank my *SLAEI* editor Lawrence I. Conrad and Ephraim Wust of the Manuscript Department in the Hebrew University for their aid in reading this colophon.

⁵⁶⁸AH 297 = 909–10 CE.

⁵⁶⁹Ms. اشرص, "multiplied", "bred". See above, p. 62 n. 127; also Ms. p. 213:3.

⁵⁷⁰Ms. امتلت, instead of امتلأت.

⁵⁷¹Ms. الجنابن, pl. of جنبه, "every kind of tree that produces new leaves in the spring or summer". See Lane, *Lexicon*, I.2, 466–67.

⁵⁷²Ms. ابعث, in the sense of بعث.

⁵⁷³The measure specified here is *makūk*, a measure of grain and other dry ingredients equaling about 5–6 kilograms. See Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire*, II, 1137; Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, pp. 44–45.

⁵⁷⁴This seems to refer again to the damage caused by locusts. See also a similar event above, p. 72 (Ms. p. 223:2–3), where the wheat is measured by قَب and the spelling of the plural of قسط appears properly as اقسط.

⁵⁷⁵The following text is problematic in several places; those parts of the translation that are tentative appear in brackets.

⁵⁷⁶AH 369 = 979–80 CE. This seems quite unlikely, since on the former page the year was 297/909–10, and on the next page the events take place in the days of the caliph al-Rādī, i.e. between 322/934 and 329/940.

⁵⁷⁷Ms. واقفو; read واقفو.

⁵⁷⁸There is a correction here, which renders a clear reading difficult. At first glance the reading seems to be بالرومي, i.e. "in Greek". However, it seems most unlikely that

in the synagogue in all the places of the Samaritans. The assembly was in ...⁵⁷⁹ a convocation of the priests, the Samaritans and all the elders of the community. The *hakīm* stood and cursed whoever returned to pronouncing the reading [of the Scriptures] and other things [in this manner]. This was during the Feast of Pentecost, and [this manner of reading] was annulled. This was the doing of the *ra'īs*, a deed which pleased Almighty God and all the people.

The people were afflicted by misfortune, for a conflict broke out amongst them and there was a great dispute amongst them.⁵⁸⁰ [But] Almighty God watched [over them] in [His] mercy, and not one of the Samaritans was harmed.⁵⁸¹ In [that] year⁵⁸² the governor (*amār*) al-Rā'irī died, and [another] was instated in his place. Almighty God did the people great good through the hand of 'Abd Allāh⁵⁸³ and drove the tyranny away from them. [Then] in Tishrīn⁵⁸⁴ there came a great earthquake; it was a terrible thing, [but] Almighty God watched over His servants, and no harm came to any Samaritan.

[259] At that time the governor (*mutawallī*) of Egypt was a man called Tlīn⁵⁸⁵ (i.e. Takīn). He had a slave whom he especially cherished. The youth

in the tenth century Samaritans would be reading anything in Greek. A much better reading is بالرمي, "in Aramaic". A final shift from Aramaic to Arabic at this date seems quite logical: by this time the Samaritan community was speaking mostly Arabic and had given up Aramaic as a spoken language. This reading is supported by the fact that this seems to have been the form in which Samaritans pronounced the word "Aramaic". See Z. Ben Hayyim, *The Literary and Oral Tradition of Hebrew and Aramaic amongst the Samaritans*, I.1: *Recitation of the Law* (Jerusalem, 1961), p. 168 (in Hebrew). I would like to thank Prof. Ben Hayyim for his help in this difficult matter.

⁵⁷⁹Ms. المصه?

⁵⁸⁰It seems likely here that the great conflict was amongst the Muslims, since "not one of the Samaritans was harmed".

⁵⁸¹Ms. ولم ينضر احد من السامرة. Cf. above pp. 73 n. 212, 80 n. 283.

⁵⁸²It is not clear what year this is.

⁵⁸³According to the sequence of events described below, Abū 'Abd Allāh is to be identified with al-Rāshidī, governor of Palestine before al-Ikhshīd, and then again, after al-Ikhshīd transferred to Damascus. See below, p. 113 n. 593.

⁵⁸⁴This could be either October or November, depending on whether it is Tishrīn I or Tishrīn II.

⁵⁸⁵This may well refer to Abū Maṣṣūr Takīn ibn 'Abd Allāh, the Turkish governor who ruled Egypt on and off from 297/910 to 321/933. This seems quite suitable, since it comes just before the reign of Muḥammad ibn Ṭughj, the Ikhshīd, who ruled from 323/935. See al-Kindī, *Wulāt*, pp. 267–70, 276–78, 280–81.

broke out with leprosy (*wadaḥ*), so [Takīn] assembled all the physicians, who gave [the boy] potions to drink and smeared him with ointments.⁵⁸⁶ But the more they gave him to drink and smeared him, the sicker he became. [Then the doctors] told him that in Syria there were people [called] Samaritans, amongst whom there were priests who could attend to⁵⁸⁷ this illness and pray over him⁵⁸⁸ so he would recover. He then ordered that one of the Banū Sayba be brought to him; with him [came] one of his relations⁵⁸⁹ from 'Ūskūn who was in his service. The name of Ibn Sayba was El'azar, and the name of his relation was 'Abd'el al-Falūk. When they examined the boy they said: "This is by Almighty God's will." [The Samaritan healer] remained at his bedside for two whole months, and the youth was cured by the will of Almighty God, and his⁵⁹⁰ story became known among the nations. [The governor of Egypt] bestowed upon them much bounty, money, and robes of honour, and he wrote that they should be honoured in every place where they reside—when they come, during their stay, and when they leave—for a year and two months. They arrived on the Feast of Tabernacles, and the community was greatly delighted; they thanked Almighty God profusely for the benefactions which He had bestowed upon them, and for having conferred this favour upon them.

During [this] year there was snow in Egypt for three days, such as had never before been seen, [260] and many people perished on the roads. After that, Almighty God opened the gates of His kindness and mercy: it rained, and the earth produced its crops, its bounty and its trees generously. There came a reduction in prices of every kind, and the people were satiated and gave profuse thanks to Almighty God for the favour that He had bestowed upon them, for He is a powerful and merciful God and clement to His servants.

That year there came a violent wind on the night of the fast;⁵⁹¹ ships that were at sea broke apart, and countless numbers of people perished in

⁵⁸⁶The form *لطوخات* is unusual. For *لطاخ* and *ملطخات* as ointments, see Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 531.

⁵⁸⁷For this sense of *نظر*, see Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire*, II, 1288.

⁵⁸⁸The text reads *يرقيه* in singular, but it seems the reading should in fact be in plural, relating to the priests.

⁵⁸⁹A *صهر* was usually the father or brother of a wife, but could be any relative of the woman's family.

⁵⁹⁰The boy's or the healer's?

⁵⁹¹This refers to the Day of Atonement, the only fast observed by the Samaritans, being of Biblical origin. See R. Pummer, "Samaritan Rituals and Customs," in Crown, *The Samaritans*, pp. 686–87; Powels, "The Samaritan Calendar," p. 731.

them. In that year locusts came forth and multiplied upon the earth; they ate all the vegetation and everything upon the land, and a great rise in prices followed.

Abū 'Abd Allāh[']s rule] in Ramla collapsed⁵⁹² and Ibn Ṭughj arrived from Egypt [to take up the post] of governor of Ramla.⁵⁹³ His fellow officers (*aṣḥābuhu*) did harm everywhere in the land, and he remained seven months⁵⁹⁴ and then departed for Damascus.⁵⁹⁵

[Then] Abū 'Abd Allāh returned to Ramla, and a rebel by the name of al-Ḥiyātī⁵⁹⁶ revolted and assembled vast forces and went to . . .⁵⁹⁷ on the feast day of the Muslims,⁵⁹⁸ and he killed a great many of them; he violated⁵⁹⁹ the women's honour and plundered the gold, the silver and everything that was in the house. He left but few of the people unharmed.

In the second year it was reported that a river had overflowed and ruined

⁵⁹²This translation of *انكسر* as "collapsed" (see Lane, *Lexicon*, I.6, 2611) rather than "was broken/was defeated" is based on Ibn Sa'īd's description that when al-Rāshidī got word of al-Ikhshīd's due arrival he fled, leaving his house furnished: *ولما بلغ الراشدي أمير الرملة مسير الاخشيدي هرب وترك داره مفروشة*. See Ibn Sa'īd, *Mughrib*, p. 8.

⁵⁹³On the following pages the rule of Muḥammad ibn Ṭughj, the Ikhshīd, in Palestine is described. The episode described here took place when the Ikhshīd escaped from Egypt, after having fallen from favour there, and received the governorship of Palestine (928–31); see Gil, *History of Palestine*, pp. 316–17. He thus took the place of the former governor of Ramla, named in the Muslim sources as al-Rāshidī, who is called in our text Abū 'Abd Allāh—using, as usual, his *kunya* rather than his *laqab*. Hearing this al-Rāshidī fled to Damascus and received the post there. Then al-Ikhshīd, preferring the post of Damascus himself, took it over and al-Rāshidī returned to Palestine. This is recorded by Ibn Sa'īd, *Kitāb al-mughrib*, IV, ed. K.L. Tallqvist (Leiden, 1899), p. 8; and by 'Arīb ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabarī Continuatus*, ed. M.J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1965), p. 159, who says expressly that Ibn Ṭughj was appointed governor of Damascus in place of al-Rāshidī, who was given back the district of Ramla (i.e. Palestine). On Ibn Ṭughj, see J.L. Bacharach, "The Career of Muḥammad b. Ṭughj al-Ikhshīd, a Tenth-Century Governor of Egypt", *Speculum* 50 (1975), pp. 586–612, esp. p. 590 for this specific episode.

⁵⁹⁴This fact is not mentioned, as far as I know, in other sources.

⁵⁹⁵Ibn Ṭughj was made governor of Damascus in Jumādā II 319/July 931. See Bacharach, "The Career of Muḥammad b. Ṭughj", p. 590.

⁵⁹⁶Ms. *الحاتي*. This reading is tentative, and the name does not appear again.

⁵⁹⁷The word here—presumably a place name—is unclear, and it is obvious that the copyist could not decipher it.

⁵⁹⁸Ms. *في عيد المسلمين*; read *في عيد المسلمين* (L.C.).

⁵⁹⁹For this sense of *نهب* see Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 727.

many places; [261] and many people perished as a result of this destruction. That year there was bounty in everything and a reduction in prices such as had never before been seen.

In those days Ibn Ṭughj started gathering troops in Damascus and rebelled against the ruler (*sultān*).⁶⁰⁰ Al-Qāhir [was deposed],⁶⁰¹ and his place was taken by the son of Ja'far, al-Muqtadir,⁶⁰² who was called 'Abd Allāh al-Rādī.⁶⁰³ He wrote to Muḥammad ibn 'Alī, who was in charge of Palestine, that Ibn Ṭughj was planning to wage war against him in Palestine in the month of Āb, in the fifth year after the Sabbatical Year. Muḥammad ibn 'Alī's men came and attacked Ibn Ṭughj; Muḥammad ibn 'Alī was defeated, and he fled, taking everything he owned. He left and entered Egypt,⁶⁰⁴ and Ibn Ṭughj ruled over the land of Palestine.

⁶⁰⁰Ms. وعصى على السلطان. This, it seems, is a reference to Ibn Kayghalagh, the ruler of Egypt whom al-Ikhshīd fought and defeated in August 935. This seizure was later legitimized. See Bacharach, "The Career of Muḥammad b. Ṭughj", pp. 593–94.

⁶⁰¹The word السلطان is followed by a gap about one word long, then the word القاهرة. The reference to al-Qāhira is strange here, since Cairo was founded by the Faṭimid caliph al-Mu'izz only in 970. It is most likely that it is a result of the copyist's misapprehension, writing القاهرة instead of القاهر. The caliph al-Qāhir was deposed on 24 April 934. It is thus possible to complete the lacuna thus: وعصى على السلطان [وعزل] القاهر وقام بعده.

⁶⁰²The ر of المقتدر is missing in the text.

⁶⁰³The caliph al-Rādī was actually called Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Rādī and not 'Abd Allāh, and he reigned from 322/934 to 329/940.

⁶⁰⁴The episode described here seems to be a continuation of عصى على السلطان above. Muḥammad ibn 'Alī is, in all probability, Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Mādhara'i, who was in charge of the finances in Egypt—the most powerful position in the Egyptian court. The Mādhara'is were a well-known family who served as high officials under the Ṭulūnids in Egypt, and then under the 'Abbāsids, both in Egypt and in Syria. Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn 'Alī served as director of finances in Egypt under the Ṭulūnids (890–905), while his famous uncle, al-Ḥusayn ibn Aḥmad al-Mādhara'i, called Abū Zunbur, served as director of finances in Syria.

Muḥammad ibn 'Alī returned to Egypt under the 'Abbāsids, and was again in charge of finances between 930 and 933. He actively resisted the Ikhshīd's attempt to rule Egypt and its legitimization by the caliph al-Rādī. He did, in fact, base his claim upon a letter he had formerly received from al-Rādī. Muḥammad ibn Ṭughj fought him, defeated him, and had him arrested. See Ibn Sa'īd, *Mughrib*, pp. 15–16, 25; H.L. Gottschalk, *Die Madara'ijun* (Berlin, 1931), pp. 103–105; idem, "Al-Mādhara'i," *EI*², V, 953. Both Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn 'Alī and his uncle al-Ḥusayn ibn Aḥmad had estates in Syria and in Palestine; an inscription dating from the days of al-Muqtadir grants al-Ḥusayn special privileges on his estate in Jund Filastīn. On this, see Elad, "Two Identical Inscriptions", pp. 301–60, esp. pp. 349–51.

It was a difficult year for all the Samaritans. Arab men from Jimsāfūt⁶⁰⁵ assembled and killed five men of the Samaritans—four⁶⁰⁶ who were from Ashkarū and one from al-Nihāsa⁶⁰⁷—who were chiefs of their villages. [The Samaritans] were killed within the hour; it was said that they burned them, and there was great pain⁶⁰⁸ among the Samaritans. After this, Ibn Ṭughj laid his hand upon the Samaritans. He began punishing them and took money from them; all the leaders of the Samaritans became impoverished, [262] and the people of the villages were stripped of all that they possessed. The affliction of the Samaritans, both the young and the old, continued everywhere. [Even] the pious man ('*abd*) was perplexed about the most sordid fate [decreed upon him] by heaven.⁶⁰⁹ Oh, what sorrow and calamity! For ten days in the month of Tishrīn stars were seen falling from the sky; in their descent they coughed up fires, like immense lightning bolts, and they continued from the middle of the night until after sunrise, falling one after the other.

Ibn Ṭughj sent to Nablus an officer ('*āmīl*) and with him a great army; he oppressed the Samaritans terribly and punished a group of them, and the synagogue became void of prayer in the days of...⁶¹⁰ on the road to Ramla... the corn⁶¹¹ ...⁶¹² in the synagogue because of the terrible evil and affliction that became evident...⁶¹³ during the rule... days... and after

⁶⁰⁵Ms. حمسا فوط, presently spelt Jinšāfūt, is an Arab village in the centre of Samaria. The name is recorded already in documents from the time of Ramses II. See F.M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine* (Paris, 1938), II, 26. It seems that the copyist himself was not familiar with the place, since there are no diacritical points here. The obvious spelling error (Jinsāfūt instead of Jinšāfūt) is based on oral rather than written transmission; see Introduction, p. 18.

⁶⁰⁶Ms. وأربعة; read أربعة.

⁶⁰⁷These are apparently names of places, although they bear no resemblance to any known place names in the area of Samaria.

⁶⁰⁸Ms. بحمة; read جمعة, which appears to be an equivalent form of جمع.

⁶⁰⁹Ms. وحار العبد علي أقبح قضيه بالسما. This sentence is difficult, and the reading is tentative.

⁶¹⁰From this point the text is incoherent, with lacunae in many places, where the text seems to have been illegible to the copyist.

⁶¹¹Or "leaves/stalks"; The word here is عصف; since the context is unknown it is difficult to determine the precise meaning.

⁶¹²Ms. ولا الماوتيه.

⁶¹³Once again the text is incoherent, and there seems to be no logical meaning, as if the copyist skipped over words he could not read but did not always leave blank spaces

this. . . Ibn al-Sabī and took much money from him; but God was benevolent towards His flock⁶¹⁴ and rescued [them]. [Then] there rose a Samaritan man, a priest⁶¹⁵ by the name of Kaydhāsh, may Almighty God have no mercy upon him and may He not be pleased with him; he served Ibn Ṭughj and was obedient⁶¹⁶ to him, and wrote down for him the names of the Samaritans who had money. Ibn Ṭughj took their money [263] and seized them and punished them in various ways. [But] Almighty God watched over them in His mercy, and Ibn Ṭughj dismissed and killed Kaydhāsh,⁶¹⁷ may Almighty God have no mercy upon him and may He not be pleased with him, and the Samaritans did not [want?⁶¹⁸] for anything.

Glory be to the Almighty, who changes yet does not change himself; His glory shall not cease for ever and ever. He is the Almighty, the Beneficent, the Merciful, the Compassionate, the Giver of life and the Causer of death, the Bestower, the Almighty and Master of all things, the Crown of life whose crown shall be for ever and ever. There is no god but Him; may His name and the veneration of His majesty be exalted; He is sufficient for me, an excellent Guardian is He.⁶¹⁹

[264] In the name of Yahweh:

This blessed book was finished with the aid of Almighty God, His favour and the goodness of His guidance on the blessed day of Thursday, the twentieth of the exalted month of Ramaḍān⁶²⁰ in the year nine hundred and thirty, in the name of him who is copying [this work] for his own use, the most meek, most base, most despicable slave, who will confess [his] sins and shortcomings on

accordingly.

⁶¹⁴This should obviously be رعية or alternatively رعايا, since رعاة bears the meaning of "shepherds".

⁶¹⁵Ms. כהן.

⁶¹⁶Ms. سلس له. See Lane, *Lexicon*, I.3, 1404.

⁶¹⁷Since it is known that Ibn Ṭughj reigned until his death, it seems that عزل here bears the sense of عزل.

⁶¹⁸There is a gap of one word in the Ms. here.

⁶¹⁹See Sūra III, v. 173: حسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل. This benediction was often used at the end of Islamic manuscripts.

⁶²⁰The twentieth day of Ramaḍān 930 fell on a Friday. If it was indeed a Thursday (19 Ramaḍān), then it was 21 July 1524.

the Day of Judgment, the slave Musallam ibn Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Hiba ibn Qabāṣ al-Sāmīrī al-Yūsufī by descent, Mūsawī in his belief, may Almighty God forgive him, then his father, then he who reads it and invokes [God's] forgiveness upon the writer and upon the whole of the community of Israel in its entirety. [Let] the peace of Yahweh [be] upon Moshe.⁶²¹ The reader is asked not to rebuke the slave for his penmanship, since he is an apprentice; the words bespeak of their speaker. Praised be God, Lord of the Worlds, who does not neglect the wages of those who do good.

⁶²¹This seems to be a transcription of the Hebrew שלום יהוה על משה.

ARABIC TEXT

(Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. Samaritaine n. 10, pp. 203–64)

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ثلاثون كراش

فصل

وكان في تلك الأيام ثلاثة رجال فاجتمعوا في بيوتهم في الأول
 من شهر سبتمبر من سنة ١٢٠٠ هـ الثاني كتب الجبار في شهر ذي
 القعدة سنة ١٢٠١ هـ الثالث كان في سنة ١٢٠٢ هـ فاجتمعوا
 بعضهم بعضاً ونظروا في حالهم من كل طرف وقد اختلف
 اسمايل مبتدئ في ان تاييم لهم تاييم من بلاد هاشم وعلاقتهم في طهر
 شامه ودفتر في شمع الكهنة ازل ما يبتدئ يخرج من الكهنة
 تساميتهم الرسول فاجتمعوا الثلاثة وقالوا ان تسير نظر
 هذا ان كان اياه املاً ما كان هو دبرنا ما انفع لم لا سلطنا
 من هو لا ي الذي يقدر وهو مخزوا الشاه رؤسوا الى بيتهم الذي
 هو انما فان ان يروا الى فرازه فقالوا ان يندعوا واستقر بان يقدم
 كتب الجبار في سنة ١٢٠٢ هـ فقال له من ان قال
 نجل من قديس اليهود اصبحت في نوراني في يوم من ثلث اسبيل

مدينة

يكاتبوه وهو الذي كتب كل امة في كتابه على كل فعل وسوء وعينه
 ومن خلقه اثم الى ملك شجر الحشيشة لاني شجرة واربعين سنة وبغده
 هذا خروا من اهل بيتي في كل امة من كل امة من كل امة من كل امة
 وتبعوا الارض في كل امة من كل امة من كل امة من كل امة من كل امة
 الذي كان في تلك الايام عيون بني العزى ساكن في بيتي ومامه
 ولما خرجوا المسلمين وهرابوا في كل امة من كل امة من كل امة من كل امة
 شاعل الجحيم هربوا مع الرزم من قدام المسلمين وكانوا اهلهم يعوذوا
 ولما جاءوا السامرة يسيروا مع الرزم الى زوميه جاؤا الى الربيعين عيون
 بني العزى الى بيت مامه لانهم كانوا ساكنين هناك وقالوا لربك
 رجل مومن ونحن نودعك ما لنا الي ما نعود وكانوا ايضا وانهم
 عاينهم عن قرب فجمعوا من اهلهم وجمعوا من اهلهم واجتمع عنده مال
 لا يحصى ولا ينفد ما هو القوم الذي اودعوا اهل فيساريز وادشوف
 ومباس وبارا وادشوفلان وعزوه وبقية الضياع المقررة والذي

يملك فيفتح الدنيا ولا يقفني يبرأ حمد وقال عبد الله مثله
 اوصيت في الجحيم ان يكونوا عيونوا شي لا حلو منه فلما تقدم
 من ميمر السامري قال له يا ليت تدين بيني وبين شريفي وملك بها
 رقاب الهاد وملك بها الفيا ولنا فيل علامه بين انا وكل فيقام
 وكشف عنده ونظروا السامري في ظلمته وافق في كل امة من كل امة
 لماسع كلام ميمر ميمر وافق ايضا عبد السلام وفتح الرجل ايضا
 بغير رفرح مما سمع من كلامهم وقال مالك انهم فعل
 مثل ما فعلوا اهلهم في كل امة من كل امة من كل امة من كل امة من كل امة
 انه لا يلهيهم على ما لا يريد فقال له ميمر ميمر السامري عندي من هذا
 تجلحني في غيبي الشريعة والذين فقال له جواب هذا الخطا بك
 يا سامري تمام الكلام في من كفي لا يجازر كاني في كل امة
 مثله في كل امة من كل امة من كل امة من كل امة من كل امة من كل امة
 ميمر ميمر وبقية كفي لا يجازر وعبد السلام وبقية كفي لا يجازر

بني اسرائيل الجاطوا اكل الاماكن ورتب الجزير اربعة دنانير ومجلاه
شعير من موي خراج الارض بني اسرائيل الى اجد كل ايامه
كان يعرض على الناس الذهب من الجا الذي يله من الجا ما يعجبه وقام
عشر سنين في ملكه وكل العام اطاعين له ومنه استقلت ملكه الى اقلاد
بني اسرائيل او حرامهم لم يزدوا ولا ينقصوا ولا اسوا الى اجد وقام
منه سبع عشر ملكا اقلاد ١٠٠٠ عامين ثلاثه وستين سنين ثلاثه
اربعين سنين لم يعرض الى اجد شي وعشر سنين حروب وعشر
سنين دوا ومملكه ما كان بعده ١٠٠٠ عامين ١٠٠٠ عامين ١٠٠٠ عامين
ابي بكر الجدي في ملك سنين في ثلاث شهرين وقام من بعده عشرين
الخطاب في ملك عشر سنين وسبع شهرين وفي الشهر السابع فمقت
تيسار وقاتل رجل يعز بن ابولوه عبد لرجل قيسار الى وقام بعده
عثمان بن عفان وملك اربع عشر سنين وقاتل ربيع الخلف في السنين
واقام واربع سنين وتسع شهرين وفي الخلف وقام بعد ذلك معاوية

وقام ٩

علي شاحل البحر من بعد هذا ساروا الى شرمه ولم يعودوا الى الان
وهنا قالوا واولو دخلوا المسلمين الى ارض كنعان فملكوا فيها واحدا اسار
الملك في سكنوا فيها وملكوا اكل الاماكن وما بقي كان لا واحد له الاثنا عشر
فانها عتقت واسلم اليهم لانها كان يقال لها امر الملك في مقدمه عليهم
وزلوا عليها وجاهروا بها ستين سنين قبل ان يفتحوها وكانوا الروم
يتخذون البحر قبل ان يعرفوا المسلمين البحر وكان في حوض تيسار
من الشام في عاشر الساملا الى العرب بال طيف من كان الروم
يدخلوا ويخرجوا منهم وللمسلمين ما يعملوا او يسبوه فتصوح مفتوح
وخرج يروج منه كل فلان راوه جا واوراه الى الباب ما علمهم وركوا
القتل في المدينه واقاموا يوم كامل يقتلوا في السوق السفلا في
قبل قيل القوا في لانها كانت مدينه مدينه فوق مدينه ومن قد يدر
في البحر قصه من قاتلهم وتلقوه ومن استسلم لهم سلم وانفتحت
المدينه وسكنوا فيها فلما افتحوها اجلت هبتهم على ساير الاماكن هو

وبني

حرب

في

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ايام مروان لمزله عظيمه كبيره في كل كان فزلت الدرع على سكانها
 ونفي من الناس الا يحيى وكانت لمزله عظيمه لم يري مثله او من لم
 من الناس اقاموا في البراري ايام كثيره كانت تطرب في تلعب بهم ولما
 ولما اراد الله هذا برحمته ومن هذا دخلوا الدين في ايمانهم
 وبعد هذا تجبروا بني العباس على بني امير وخرجوا في قافله
 ووقع في السنين الخلف منهم من بني العباس ومنهم من بني الامير ووقع
 بينهم حرب عظيم لمايل وهو الحرب المعروف بحرب الكوشيين والفرج
 الذي كانوا في عون بني امير وقتلوا في كان جعل من خراسان
 يعزوا بنوا امير ومعه عساكر كثيره فقام في عون بني العباس
 حتى اخذ لهم الملك بن امير والقتال مع مروان في كسره وانهم
 مروان حتى وصل الي مصر فلقوه رجال ابو مسلم وقتلوه في
 مصر اخذوا راسه بعد ملكه من شين وعادوا جاورا ووقع
 ابو مسلم الملك لبني العباس من بني هاشم حينئذ ثبتت ملكه في

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بن ابي عفيان في ملك شروان شروان شروان شروان شروان شروان
 ابنه ملك بنع شروان مات في عام بعد مروان بن الحكم وملك أربع
 شروان مات في عام بعد عبد الله بن الزبير وملك شامير شين في
 شروان مات في عام بعد عبد الملك بن مروان بن الحكم وملك ثلاث عشر
 شين وست شروان مات في عام بعد الوليد بن عبد الملك شين
 وسبع شروان مات في عام سليمان اخوه وملك شين في شام شروان مات
 عمر بن عبد العزيز وملك شين وست شروان مات في عام يزيد بن عبد الملك
 مروان وملك أربع شين في عام هاشم اخوه وملك سبع عشر شين ومان
 شروان مات في عام بعد الوليد بن يزيد بن عبد الملك وملك شين واحد
 وثلاث شروان مات في عام يزيد الناصر بن الوليد وملك خمس شروان مات
 ابنه هاشم وملك شروان في عام شروان وملك شروان في عام شروان
 الاخير من بني امير وملك خمس شين في شين كل هذه ملك الاسلام
 والي هذا الوقت ماير واحد ثلاثون شين وثلاث شروان وجاتي

بنع

الربيع خلده وشكده اليه اخذ الربيع واحد من اولاده
 بن دتر وكان تلميذ رياسه الامير ضيق عليه وتخلق واستدوا طغيت
 ثلثة الاف دينار واعادوا السامرة وقام بها وتخلص في ايام قريش
 الربيع واسبي الربيع واجتروا القبر جمع املكا اتي عشرين شهرا
 قام بعده ابنه يدعي هـ المدي في ملك عشرين شهرا
 ومات في عام ابنه بعده واسمه موسى ملك عشرين شهرا ومات
 وبعد هذا استقل الربيع في بني اسرائيل وخلفه ابنه له ١٠٠٠
 وقام ابن اخوه وجسم في الامم والى الحساب القبر في الامم
 نيل بالروحي اقام سبع سنين ومات في عام ابنه زيد يكون كان في عام
 ومات في حساب الامم الذي كان مع ابوه ومات في عام له ١٠٠٠
 بن قريش سابعه وكان الحساب القبر في الامم معروا خرجوا
 بطاقتين له ١٠٠٠٠ وورثوا واختلفوا وورثوا السامرة معهم
 في خلف عظيم منهم مع قريش ١٠٠٠٠ ومنهم مع ١٠٠٠٠ وخرجوا

القبان ملكه عزيزه قويه واضيقوا الخراج في الارض وناذروا في
 الله لئلا يهلكوا واشفقوا على احوالهم وصرى وضيقوا
 على الناس في احوالهم وجمعوا جذا وقام في يوم من ايام
 عبد الله يدعي القبان بن بني هاشم في ملكه سبع سنين وثمان شهور
 وقام بعده اخوه يدعي ابو جعفر وارسل الى فلسطين سلطان
 يدعي عبد الوهاب بن قيس بن ابي اسدي وضيق على الناس جدا وحا
 نسله في الاربع وخلافه عبد الوهاب الى قريش بن حمر القبر الذي بناها
 زيد بن حمر وعظماء لا يخرجوا القبر الى عرض من عرض السامرة وحدث
 حريق فيهم مال شيب خوفها وخلعوا رجا في الليل واخرجوها
 واخرجوا الدية الذي كانوا الروم ينظروا الضوا عليه الى الليل
 فصاروا فيها شجر حشيشه زهية وارضها والنهار يدعي يقولوا اما
 اجزها الا السامرة وارسل ابو اسدي في اخذ الربيع وكان
 هناك رجل من بني تسانة يدعي الربيع بن الملك وشال في معني

وكان في السنة الذي قام له 2. قام بعد يومين اخرا هرون في المذبح
من بني هاشم وجرار عظيم جالي يامه بلير اميله واكل كل الخضيرة
وكل عشب البر واستوى في الارض ربح شرمه وعطا وجه الارض
من البحر الى الارض واكل كل ما على الارض من خضيرة وعشب لم
يبقي على وجه الارض وبقيت الارض خالية وفي السنة الاخرى وقع
في المسكين خلفه قتال منهم ودمهم ودماروا في ربي واحد يقال لهم
مدراين واخر يقال لهم نلسون وكانوا يخرجوا ليجاروا بعضهم
بعض بغلا ومعه عظيم ويقتلوا من هارلاي من هارلاي بلانجه
وكانوا السكك منهم من السامر وغيرهم في شت عظيم واهابله
يدخلوا الضياء وينهبوا الغلاله الذهب الفضة والتماس والاشتر
وقام علينا الوعيد اللبوب بوزل يذبح بين يديك ولا ياكل منه جميع
الوعيد هرون الناس دخلوا ضياء علم خاليه مما كان يجري عليهم
من الوعاب والبلا وان يحقوا امراء تغلوا انها تعال اهل منهم ودخلوا

البطانتين الحزم بطاقر شمال الاشين بطاقر قزلا الشلشا
وكانوا رجال الضياء بعضهم مع هذه بعضهم مع هذا ما الذي
كانوا مع 2. قاموا الاشين والذين كانوا مع ترقلا صاموا
البلشا وكن قرام علموا الاخرى هذه ولحق السامره في هذا ليجو
عظيم واحتملوا مقد السامره الى 2. الرئيس وقالوا الله
كيف يخلو السامره في هذا البليه العظيمه عنظر رجال عارفين
خافوا الله تعالى يدخلوا ويكتفوا الذي مع هذا ومع هذا فان
كان الجودا كلنا معه واختاروا 2. اربع رجال
اشين من احجاب هذا اشين من احجاب هذا واستخلفهم ذرنا
انهم لا يخفون ليجو حيث كان يقال لهم الذين يريدون له انهم
متقلبين اسم هذا العالم وانتم تكشفون ليجو بينهم وابس من كل
لجونه 2. كانت امه كلنا معه ودخلوا واشفوا انا وارب
لجونه 2. وشكل الشعب معه وبشروا ما مشه ليجو

الناس ونظروا إليه طالعاً من القدر وقالوا لها اني نطقتي قالت تنقذ
 قالوا لها من اين لك تنقذ ونظروا الى القدر فاقوا بولم انسان
 وقالوا لها اني ابلية هذه العظيمة قالت ان بها ما في اخذته
 وطعمه حتى تاكله من ثوبه للجوع وكانت الامراه بدت من العرب شاكره
 هناك وارسل الله على الناس طلوعاً من وابل من ما تواتوا في
 الطريق وما تبتروا وصارت الحاملي تهره وكانت الامر تحفر والجعره
 جعلوا فيها عشرة وخمسه مما كان في الوابل حتى قوا يدقوا
 وما الكبر من شئ امري كاهن ما تواتوا وما يكونوا كاهن ما
 الكبر ولا دفنوا كاهن ما الكبر من بين ابعد اعن اباهم واما بعد
 عن بينهم وما تواتوا ما عرفوا احد منهم حال الاخر كيف كان من اللوت
 والجوع وانقلب تحت الناس وما في اني نطقتي عن ابن ولا ابن نبال
 عن ابي ولا اخي نال عن اخوه ويزيد يعظم الولي لمن ينظر بنفسه
 هذا البلا وهو من ينظر ويخلص من امتحانه ويصل الفرج

الناس

على الناس منهم بلا لا نبتة انا من الناس في الجبال في الغابر من بعد
 ما انكشفت الناس كل ما يملكو او يقيروك من كل شئ من كان كاله
 من جازيهم كايستند اليه يعطيه ماله ويحميه زمانه ليكن له جاز
 يبقى تايه في الجبال والمغابر والوديع وكانوا لما صاروا يدخلوا الا
 يصيوا شي ياخذونه ويحرقوا الدور والبذر ولا يبقوا شي الا يحرقوه
 وخربت الديار وانا ما امكنك تقرب مني وتصدق الله وافرقتهم
 وفي السنة الاخرى جاء على الناس غلا عظيم ودخل على الناس بلا
 ما فيه رجح وكانت الناس قد انكشفتوا من ادم داخل من البذر
 الجراد ومن اكل العبد او اعد يدور في طلب الحربة وقام الوعيد
 وتصبر في يدي اعدايم عند كرتي قوي للحرب الجوع وجاعت
 للفرع الشديد لها بل حتى نبي الشبع كما قيل يا كلوا اولاً
 تشبعوا انقلوا ان امراه اكلت ابنها في ضبعه يقال لها اربع
 ما ان الطفل فلما ما في اخذته قطعته وطعته ودخلوا

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وبعد هذا بسط الله يحمده وفرح ووزع النسخ عن عبده وأرسل
الحجاج في الأرض واشبع النفوس وأكف الناس وشبعوا والقليل من الناس
الذي بقي والقليل من الناس طلعوا الجبال في حج للخلال الذي بعد
سنة الموت كانوا مثل ما يجتمع في كيسة ضيقة صغيرة وما وبعد ثمانية

فلاح بالآل المشبكان كثير داجن وما كان له طهيم ويحبب الناس
بالذين يجرؤوا الأشين والغيث وكبروا شيوخ الشعب السامرة في
كل مكان طلعوا بين يدي جبال وأحلام عليهم وكان ذلك في الجبل
جندرا

للم
الله

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في ناس الشهر الذي بعد عيد السابع ومضت كتب الربيع إلى الضياع
وطلعوا الناس إلى الجبل في يوم الأحد وكانت صلاة عظماء ومراج
عظيم كان يوم الاثنين والثلاثاء

وجعلوا الأطفال يصرخوا ويقولوا يا الله أبائنا الأرض أرنع
عنا هذا البلا شنع المولي الله تعالى معوشهم بذكر الأباريق للموت
عنهم وانعد النسخ ما جئنا به لانه الله كثير الجحان قريب الرحمة
لا نرغب في النسخ وكان الناس لا يستطيعوا ويعوزون في الطريق

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عبد الله من بعد وفاته من بعد الكلدانيين على مثل هذا وعمل
منهم ايمان وعلمود وشهادات فجعلت شايخ في كل مملكته ان من
بعد هذا العهد وجدته يوجد من كل الناس يتبعوا عليه
وهو ربنا من بعده وقسمته وملك هرون اثني عشر وثمانين
والحد عشر شهرا وما قام محمد ابنه في مكانه وكان مطر حلاله
وجسده لفسد يلازمه ^{وكان} يلبسهم لباس قشيم ويرثهم بنيه
ويخرجهم منهم ويتعلم عليهم ويتكلم عليه على الاستاذين
يذكروه وغضب الله عليهم اذ ازال هيبته عن الناس وانعكست الناس
عليه ودخل على كل كبير واخلاق وعكس وقيل في كل الاماكن
كل الشايخ من خليفته اذ لم يات في يوم هرون الرشيد خمسة ايام
سنة وما ياتي تسعة وثلاثون شهرا وقع الخلفينهم وقتل كثير من
ساير البلاد في الاردن والدمشق في ساير الاماكن وقتل ساير
كثير من قدي خياع واتام الوعيد للكتاب واستطاع ان يثبته وخرج

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اجسامهم من ذوات النبال حتى انهم تغيرت اجسامهم من الرخية وارتفع الموت
عن البهايم وتغيرت الناس في الدنيا ما كانوا يقدروا على شي في شروا
عليه لاجتنابوا يد شروا على الخير والجمال في ساير البهايم وفي الزراعة
ايضا وتطهرت الارض وقام علينا الوعيد بقوله واني بهايم وماء
اكثر ما با من الارض من قلة البهايم وغلبت الارض من نبال البهايم
كل هذه الشدايد لما اعطينا ربنا كل هذا كان في ايام هرون
خليفته المسكين وكان الرئيس له ^{الملك} امام اسرائيل ما

وكان بعد هذا الحاضر لما حضر في فاه الرشيد هرون
اجتاز اولاده ثلاثة وعشرين شهرا وقاسمهم قسم الملك
عليهم وجعل خراسان لعبد الله ومن تحت خراسان وجاي
كل الارض الا في ارضه جعل له كل شايخ الجرمين الطريق الى
الطريق جعل القاسم وجعل محمد القاسم في الملك بعد وجعل

عبد الله

أبو عوف رجل حادي وجاء إلى فلسطين في سنة ١٠٠٠ م قتل هروا
 أجماله واختلعهو البين خلف كثير وخرج من جيشه رجل من
 يعرف بأرضه كان سنة من المقيولين في سنة ١٠٠٠ م خرج معه جنس كثير
 واجتمعوا إلى بيتا ومضوا إلى شوف وطلبوا وقتلوا وأخرجوا أصابع
 وطلبوا الداس وأخرجوا مقاليد النساء باله شوف ما قدر وأيدوا
 ورجعوا وطلبوا كل أقدرة وأعلى وكأف الليل والليل وأجتمعت
 بعد ذلك مائة قبيل إلى قيسارية وخرجوا وطلبوا الضياع
 وخرجوا الدنيا وأخرجوا راعي أيد ومحي إلى قيسارية وخرج
 الكاس في جيش كثير من قيسارية وهرب من يدي
 الكاس في لجعوتهم وقتلوا منهم جماعة وبعد هذا فرح الله
 بفتحهم وبعد الشك بفرح وأرسلهم قديسين ولأعلى
 الأرض وهذه الناس تبدوا أهل السواد ورجعنا إلى بيوتنا
 وأين قتل هذا قام أخوه عبد الله ووقع الخلاف بين الناس

في كل مكان وبطلت سلطنته وما شئت الناس من قتلهم وكانوا
 الناس في قوتهم الشر وطلبوا بعضهم بعض في ما أكثر من قتل بينهم
 وكان الخلاف في البغض بينهم والسبي في النساء والأطفال
 وأبغ جماعة من السامرة وثبت الوعيد بولك بياض يصيروا
 لشعب آخر وعيناك ناطرة وليس تدره لاه تظلت تسرا وقتل
 سامرة وغيرهم من كل الأم وخرت ضياع وخليت من كان لها
 وأقطع الأرض من يملكها وكانت الناس واتعين في البلا
 على كل ليل ونهار وكثر الشدايد وخرج للبراد سيرة بعد سيرة
 وأكل الرطب مع اليا بر رجاء الغلا وضعفت الناس وعدوا
 مالم وما شئهم وتدنوا بين الشعوب هربا هروا بالسيف وكل
 هذا وأكثر منه من كثرة الخطايا والذنوب الذي فعلوا الناس بين
 يدي الله تعالى وعبودي الباطل وبعدوا من الحق ونزل الخير
 وطلبوا أمرا يصنع الله تعالى بسبب ذلك فقتلنا هذه الشدايد

ما بين

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كما نزلنا الله تعالى في كتابك هذه مع إبراهيم وإسماعيل
 عليهم السلام وأنت وأخلف هذه الشدة بفتح واجتهدوا المسلمين
 ومسلموا اكل الانسان مكانه وكان بينهم البعض والشر ومن كان
 سفك الدم بينهم شي جملد ومسك من جال كثير ورجل يقال له
 مسرورين وابوعامر كل على اياهم وامنه وكان حب السامرة
 واليهاموه الناس وكان رجل حرب عظيم ويقع الحيز وكل السامرة
 الذي يخرجونه بخير واتخذوا صديق من شيوخ السامرة وعامد وكره
 المسلمين وقالوا اما قد قتلنا الامير ولا يقدم على الاحدية
 وعامد وحالفوه عليه لما نزل عند عامر وهم على الطعام فامر
 اليهم عامد وقتله وعاد البلاء وقتل من جاءه عامر دعي اثنين
 بلا عدد ولا احتجار اتفقوا ان يمشوا على حمله فامر اباها السامرة
 وراح الى ارضه سلاما وكان عند العلاء يوم فرخ وسرور عظيم وكبر
 الله كثير على سلامته وهذا كله ثم اختلفا الذي خالنا امر
 الله

ربيع ثوب
 حبيب
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رابع عشر كذا

الله تعالى وبعد هذه الشدة جابر اذ راح الفتح وهو اعشى
 الارض راح النجوم وجاعلا عظيم وبلغ الفتح قبيل يسار والزيث
 حين اقتطاع يسار وجعل الله ولم ينظر الجمل لان الله يجرى حجه
 وهو رحين وروى لا يحوي الشخص خرج الجراد في السهله
 الثانية وضعفوا الناس من استوالهم من الفلاكل اذ ات الشدة
 زادوا الناس خلاص وتطعت سلا من من كره القتل والقتل
 كثير يذلو او يساكنهم وان لا دج كما قد ومقدح الحكم وهاين
 ولما ابتليت بقتلهم من عسكر ما قد ابرها بقتلها من شجب
 اهل اهل الفريده انهم مامكوه من قتلها اراي ابعادها عند
 وحفظ قول الله تعالى وتبعوا اليهم جلتك سامره عسكره
 لم يهتلم شي لانهم كانوا قاذرين ولم يفعلوا امعها خير لانها
 تبدلت من البزغ ولما لم يفعلوا خير معها ولا مع غيرها لاد
 الله البلاء عليهم وعلى هذه انواع وثبت عليهم لان الله لا يرفع

حجة وقد رزقوا بغير عظيم واستبشروا ولما اخذوه انما هم
 كل صباه واعتقوا به الميريين غمانه عادوا واخلطوه راجح الي
 بلده وكان كل اثنين من ادم الي يحيى الدين يدي الي ولد وجر
 خمسة الاف سنين وكما يتي سنين وخمسون سنين وبعد اربع سنين
 ارسل عبد الله الملك رجل اسمه عبد الله بن طاهر ومعه جيش
 عظيم ولم يفعل مثل ما تقدم على الجوارح وزاه ومعين بين يديه الامراء
 خرج من بغداد فتح البلاد الذي بين يديه واعطاه الله النصر
 وفعل مع الاجناس وكثر كل جبابه الارض وجا الي حمص
 وقام عليه لصر بن شيبه جيش كثير جوارح وجا حمص حتى ضيق
 على صر حتى استامن نصر وخرج من حمص فلما اخرج تبص عليه
 عبد الله وقيدوا جميع ما له واولاده وسيره الي بغداد ووجا
 الي فلسطين في اول شهر السطري شهر كانون الاول في سنه
 ماقي اثني عشر سنين لملك الاسلام ولم يجانبه لجد ونزل الي حمص

وجهه ولا يخذلنا الاطام حتى يصدق لان من قد علي عمل خير
 ولا يعلم نداد الله الشدة عليه اذا لم طعم البلا وحلبه وفرج
 واكلوا الناس وشبعوا من نعم الله انسلت الطرق ولبنوا الناس
 فطعموا السامرة من كل مكان الي ~~منهم~~ وجماعوا واصلوا
 وشكر الله كثير وسما وجمعه علي تفضله الذي ازال عنهم هذه
 الشدة بالفرج والرحمة من قبله وبعد ثلثة عشر سنه من ملك عبد الله
 لما مؤذرا رسل رجل يعرفه بالدين يدي معه جيش عظيم ولم
 يفعلوا به الناس الاوهوا الي فلسطين وخافوا اكل المسلمين منه
 خوف شديد واسوا من المياه وكانوا الجوارح عولوا علي انهم
 يعمروا ويحلوا جميع ما مللوه فلما راوه طالع الي حمص عادوا
 الي امن كما كانوا واسروا السامرة وقتلوا منهم جماعه
 وعبر خالد واجتهد الي حمص وجماعه الميريين وكان
 رجل ثري عظيم وامنهم بالقتل خلق عظيم وجماعه من ولهم

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ففيه وملا وعابهم وملا الجيوش منهم رجال ونساء واطفال
وضيق عليهم بالجرع والعطش ومات ناس كثير في الجيوش والحاجز
يزنوا مال كل واحد واختار اولادهم في اليوم الثامن ومن
كان له مال كانوا هم يشهدوا عليه انه انفق وعاد
منهم ومن خرج خلق كثير من بينهم ومات اكثر من جلد وصبر
حتى جاء الفرج من الله وبغسل وجهه لانه رجع من زون

فصل

وعادو المسلمين اجتمعوا على خلف المأمون الذي هو اعيد
الله وقتلوا والي سجاء وخرجوا الى بيت المقدس ومعه عشرة
كثير وقتل ابن اخوه علي ومحاوا رسل وجه خلق كثير وعاد
اوصاف الجرب مع الخالفين واعطاء الله النجوى وقتل منهم اثني
وعشرون رجل واحرق الحسن الذي كانوا يجتمعون فيه وخرقوه
ومضوا اجماعه منهم الى بيت حبرون وتجلسوا فيها ورجا الحوا

حتى علوم

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وتحاربها وكان الحاربي الذي فيها يقال له سعيدي كسري في اسره
رجله الى بغداد للملك فتح البلاد التي الى البحر فبقية وجعل
الله في قلبه رجة للناس وخفف عنهم البلاء الذي كان عليهم سري
من الذي كان نعله الحاربي قبله لانه ما كان له خد كانوا كل
الناس خلوا اماكم خالده وهر بن ارضاس خرجوا من داههم
وامر بان من زن خراج ياخذ من حقيق لا يقدرا الجدا خد من
منه شي اخر مملكان يفعل قبل من سبت ذلك خلق كثير
كان كل من جابر حتى هلك الناس ونيف في ابل بلاء
عند مدد فتراخيلوا وخرجوا الى الجرح اثر احران
عليه كان قدا هله وجماعه في زمان الجور والشد وقام
وامر بقدر ملك في فتح سجين حتى رتب فلاح في سائر البلاد وعاد
سار الى بلاد وبقي مشيرة نار ممد يقال له بن فرائسه وكان
انسان سري يبعث السامرة ويريد منهم يخرجوا من داههم الي

بند

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وَمَا يَتَّبِعُ أَتَقَعِدُ أَنَّكُمْ تَخْلُقُونَ خَلْقًا مِثْلَ الَّذِي خَلَقَ
 جَمِيعَ الْمَخْلُوقَاتِ الَّتِي كَانُوا آبَاءَ قَبْلِهِمْ يَخْلُقُونَ فِيهَا وَهَذِهِ الْقُلُوبُ
 الَّتِي بَارَأَنِي فِيهَا عَلَى الْبِلَادِ الْخَرَابِ وَالْجَمَاعَةِ مِنَ الْخَالِقِينَ وَكُلَّكُمْ
 فِي سَلَاسِلٍ مُجْتَمِعَةٍ إِلَى يَوْمِ الْبَعْثِ وَبَقِيَ الْآمِنُونَ فِي دِمَشْقَ بَنِي
 شَهْرٍ وَشَارَ مِنْ هُنَاكَ إِلَى بِلَادِ الرُّومِ وَفَتَحَ هُنَاكَ مَدِينَةً
 وَضِياعَ كَثِيرَةً وَعَادَ إِلَى بِلَادِهِ فِي شَهْرِ السَّبْطَةِ وَأَمَرَ بِمَسَاحِدِ الْأَرْضِ
 وَعُدَدِ الشَّجَرِ وَفَعَلَ ذَلِكَ خَلَا فِي فَسْطَاطٍ جَلِيلٍ بِالْأَرْضِ فَقَالَ
 لَهُ ابْنُ الْوَلَدِ وَوَضَعَ عَلَى النَّاسِ ثِقَلًا عَلَيْهِمْ جَدًّا مَا لَا يَتَحَاوَرُونَ
 الَّذِي كَانُوا قَبْلَهُ وَأَضْعَفَ النَّاسَ خَرِبَتْ مَدِينَتُهُ وَضِياعُهَا
 وَخَلِيتَ مِنْ كَانِهَا وَجَعَلَ اللَّهُ فِي الْأَرْضِ سَلَامًا وَشَبَّعَ مِنْ هَذَا
 وَمَذْهَبًا لَمْ يَفْقَرُوا مِنْ ذَلِكَ الْآمِنُونَ أَتَيْنَ دِمَشْقَ وَبَنِي
 وَمَاتَ ۞ فَصَلِّ ۞

وَمَا يَتَّبِعُ أَتَقَعِدُ أَنَّكُمْ تَخْلُقُونَ خَلْقًا مِثْلَ الَّذِي خَلَقَ
 جَمِيعَ الْمَخْلُوقَاتِ الَّتِي كَانُوا آبَاءَ قَبْلِهِمْ يَخْلُقُونَ فِيهَا وَهَذِهِ الْقُلُوبُ
 الَّتِي بَارَأَنِي فِيهَا عَلَى الْبِلَادِ الْخَرَابِ وَالْجَمَاعَةِ مِنَ الْخَالِقِينَ وَكُلَّكُمْ
 فِي سَلَاسِلٍ مُجْتَمِعَةٍ إِلَى يَوْمِ الْبَعْثِ وَبَقِيَ الْآمِنُونَ فِي دِمَشْقَ بَنِي
 شَهْرٍ وَشَارَ مِنْ هُنَاكَ إِلَى بِلَادِ الرُّومِ وَفَتَحَ هُنَاكَ مَدِينَةً
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 لَهُ ابْنُ الْوَلَدِ وَوَضَعَ عَلَى النَّاسِ ثِقَلًا عَلَيْهِمْ جَدًّا مَا لَا يَتَحَاوَرُونَ
 الَّذِي كَانُوا قَبْلَهُ وَأَضْعَفَ النَّاسَ خَرِبَتْ مَدِينَتُهُ وَضِياعُهَا
 وَخَلِيتَ مِنْ كَانِهَا وَجَعَلَ اللَّهُ فِي الْأَرْضِ سَلَامًا وَشَبَّعَ مِنْ هَذَا
 وَمَذْهَبًا لَمْ يَفْقَرُوا مِنْ ذَلِكَ الْآمِنُونَ أَتَيْنَ دِمَشْقَ وَبَنِي
 وَمَاتَ ۞ فَصَلِّ ۞

وحاربوه

وَمَا يَتَّبِعُ

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البلد علينا بحفظه ومن كان في القبر فاجازوا اليه بالمشقاة
 هناك حوايج يزيدوا فيها واخذهم وحلبهم علي باب
 القديس من الشرق ومات القديس في سنة ٢٨٨٨ في السنة الثانية
 من السطط في شهر ربيع ١٢٢٢. وقبر في القبر الذي عمل لابنه
 الذي اراد يقبه بليس في حياته ولما مات قبره
 هناك وقبره مقابل قبر ريزون تربس الطريق الذي
 نزل علي السارين في ماله كما يجب من القون الفرع وكانت
 امامه لمشون سنة وتقدم في كانه ابنه ومضوا القايين الي
 الزمله وزجروا اناس كك انوا واخذوا جازوا يد يديهم
 نابلش تايد ووصوا للبحر الي الزعيم الذي كان القديس وخرج معه من
 اصحاب القديس وخرجوا رجال القديس معهم الي العرب منازل
 وقتلوا المناقين قتل كثير وجلبهم كثير وبقيتهم هربوا هروب
 السيف وحبل النجس القايين وقبروا من فلسطين ومضوا زوا

من
 ع

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ويطعنوا الي جبل ٩٩٩ فيج الطال في زواياهم وانا بلس وخرج
 الزعيم ومنه جماعه وكان في القبر القديس واعلمه هو الزعيم
 وجماعته ودخل القديس او صواذوز كثره والجر قوها واخرجوا
 القديس وكاس القديس وجعل القديس ومناط سامري في القبر
 الحلة اليم يسموا شيخ الملك ارسل في يدنا شملوا اجد جرح
 واشملوا اخر جرحه ورجا طبعه وقتلوه هناك جماعه جوارح
 ونهوا ضياعهم وجازوا الي يسان واجابوه هناك جماعه من
 الجوارح ويدينا يسموها وقتلوا منهم قتل كثير وعبروا العايد
 وجازوا الي الزمله ولما نظر اسكان الارض جبروا جبروا كثير ومضوا
 القايين الي بيت خبر في قتلوا للجوارح الذي كانوا هناك
 وطلعوا الي القديس جايين الي نابلش وخبروا عليهم للجوارح
 فاقاموا منهم للحرب في وادي الحبيب قتلوا منهم قتل كثير
 وطلعوا السارين اليهم واخذوا منهم امان وقالوا لهم من كان

البلد

حَرَامُهُ عَقْدٌ وَبِقَوْلِهِمْ وَرَسُولُهُمْ بِالْحَيْدِ إِلَى بَعْدَ وَجَعَلَهُ اللَّهُ فِي
الْأَرْضِ مِنْ خَيْرِ الْخَرَاجِ وَالْجَالِيدِ وَضَمُّوا عَلَى الْإِسْلَامِ كَيْفَ وَكَانَتْ الْأَنْدَلُ
يُسَمُّوْنَ أَمْلَاكُمْ وَرَأْسَ الْبَيْتِ بَيْنَ مَنْ أَسَدَهُ الْيَكَاثُ وَانْهَاهَا وَحَسَنَ يَوْمٍ
غَنَمَ بَيْنَ مَنْ وَاجَسَ اللَّهُ لِلْأَمْرِ وَاجْتَرَحَ الْخُرُوجَ الْخُرُوجَ مِنْ زَيْنَدٍ وَكَانُوا
يُضِيقُونَ عَلَى السَّيْلِ الْكَثِيرِ مِنَ السَّامِرَةِ وَحَسْبُ اللَّهِ وَجَارَتِ السُّدُورُ مَا
اسْتَشْرَفَ مِنَ السَّامِرَةِ الْخُرُوجَ مِنْ بَيْتِهِمْ وَلَا يَفْقَهُونَ مَا يَلْبَسُ عَمِدَ
الْأَنْكَبِ لَا تَسْلَى تَخْلَعُهُمْ إِنَّهُ اللَّهُ أَلْهَمَ فَعِيْلًا مَنْ عَلَى طَرِيقِ الْخِلَافِ
فَسَلَّ طَرِيقَ الْوَقْدِ كَانَ مَا تَقَدَّمَ الْأَمَامَ وَكَانَ مِنْهُ ابْنُ تَلَالٍ
مَطْلُوعٌ قَبْلَهُ لِمَا كَانُوا لَا يَتَوَلَّوْنَ أَمْرًا وَلَا يَتَوَلَّوْنَ وَلَا شَيْخُ السَّامِرَةِ لَعَنِي
أَنَّهُ لَسِيَتْ وَمَا جُورِي لَأَمْرِيهِ وَلَا لَفَسَاتِ لَأَمْرِهِمْ كَانَتْ قَائِلًا بِأَمْرِهِمْ
فَسَجَّحَانِ مَنْ يَحْمِلُ لَا يَفْقَهُونَ قُوَّةَ وَاجْتِنَانِ عَمِي حَكَمَ بِالْأَشْكَ
وَلَا يَفْقَهُونَ لِقَاءَ الْبَاطِلِ وَلَا يَفْقَهُونَ نَابِلَ الْوَقْدِ لَعَنَتِ السَّامِرَةَ وَدَاوُدَ
بِعَمْرِهِ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى وَفَالَهُ تَعَالَى أَعْيَا لِرَبِّهِمْ دَنَاءَ بَيْنَ السَّامِرَةِ وَدَاوُدَ

عرج عن

بجاء

وَجِبَا السَّامِرَةِ وَبَنَاهَا بِالْأَشْكَالِ الْيَسْبُورِ لَوْ سَطَانِي كَانَ
فَرَحٌ عَظِيمٌ وَسُرُورٌ عَلَى كُلِّ السَّامِرَةِ وَنَاجِي وَاجْتِنَانِ الْحَاكِمِ
فِي الْيَوْمِ بَانَ يَقِيمُوا الصَّلَاةَ وَيَعْلَمُوا يَوْمَ لَا شَيْءَ فِي حَجِّ الشَّرَابِ
وَنَزَلُوا مِنَ الْجَبَلِ إِلَى الصَّلَاةِ وَنَزَلُوا إِلَى الْفَسَادِ وَكَانُوا فِي يَوْمٍ
الْثَّلَاثَةِ وَبَقِيَ النَّاسُ فِي سَلَامٍ خَمْسَ سِنِينَ وَاللَّهِ بَرَاهِيمَ دَخَلَ
إِلَى بِلَادِ الرُّومِ وَخَرَّبَ لَحْمَ مَيْتَةٍ كَبِيرَةٍ يُقَالُ لَهَا عَوْرِيَّةٌ وَكَانَ حُجُوبُ
كُلِّ الْأَمْرِ مَا كَانَ مِثْلَ جَعْفَرٍ إِنَّهُ لَمَّا قَامَ وَمَا كَانَ يَبْغِضُ جَمِيعَ
النَّاسِ وَمَلِكُ بَرَاهِيمَ تَسْعَ سِنِينَ مَا تَقَبَّلَ مِنْهُ خُرُوجَ إِيجُودٍ
وُخْرِجَ عَلَيْهِ وَبَنَاهُ مَرَّةً خُرُوجَ فِي الْمَرْجِ عَلَى رَأْيِ
الْبَصُورِ فَلَمَّا حَارَ لَهْجَاعُهُ جَاءُوا وَنَهَبُوا أَتْرَبِيهِ عَلَى الطُّولِ
وَجَاءُوا إِلَى يَسْلِيَا وَسَمِعُوا إِلَى الرُّومِ وَخَلَاوَرَاهُ مُقَدِّمٌ وَهَرَبَ
حَرْبُ الْيَسْلِيِّ الَّذِي عَلَى الْأَرْضِ لَمْ يَقْدِرْ عَلَيْهِ وَمَا دَلَّ الْوَلَدُ
وُطِّلَ إِلَى يَسْلِيَا وَخَلَا مُقَدِّمٌ وَرَاهُ دَجَلُ السَّامِرَةِ بَرَاهِيمَ بَنِي قَوْمِهِ

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سَمِعَ اللَّهُ بِرَجُلٍ يَقَالُ اللَّهُ عَلِيٌّ بِرِيٍّ قَلِيلٍ خَلَعَ ثِيَابَهُ ان
 قَدْ قُتِلَ الْعَسْكَرُ انْفَرَمَ مُوَحَّدٌ هَرَمَ السَّيْفُ وَتَعَادَ مَوَاتِلُ
 مِنْهُمْ جَمَاعَةٌ مِنْ بَعْضِهِمْ وَفَرَّقُوا النَّاسَ لِأَنَّهُ مَا تَمَّ لَا
 لِمَا كَانَ فِي اللَّيْلِ خَرَجَ بِرِيٍّ وَخِيَالِي كَانَتْ وَخَرَجُوا النَّاسَ
 هَارِبِينَ فِي لَيْلَةِ السَّبْتِ لَا يَجِدُونَ لَابِدَةً وَلَا ابْنَ عَصَا لَا يَبُوءُ
 مِنَ الْوَيْلِ كَاهِنٌ زَوْجٌ سَاهِدٌ وَمُقَدِّمِينَ امْرَأَتَهُمْ بِالْكَارِ وَالْصَّاحِ
 مَا جَرَى عَلَيْهِمْ مِنْ سَبَبِ السَّبْتِ أَهْلُ الْبَلَدِ هَوَّ بِوَأَهْرَوبُ
 هَوَّ بِالسَّيْفِ فَمَا الرُّبُوسُ فَا تَهْجُرُ فَضْرَبَ بِالسَّيْفِ قَتَلُوا
 لِي خَلِيلٌ مَاتَ وَتَبَرَّ هُنَاكَ نَحْنُ اللَّهُ وَرُوحُهُ وَلَمَّا رَأَى كَيْدَ حَرْبِ
 أَنْ تَكُونَ النَّاسُ كَالِهَمِّ وَهَزَبُوا رَجْعَ وَدَخَلَ إِلَيْهَا بِلَاسُ أَجْرَتِ
 وَنَهَبَ سَبْعَ عَشْرَةَ أَيَّامًا وَأَقَامَ النُّهْبَةَ تَبَدَّلْنَا فِي شَارِ الْبِلَادِ
 وَأَقَامَ الْوَعِيدَ وَأَرْسَلَ عَلَيْهِمْ سَيْفَهُ أَنْزَلَ بِلَادَ خَالِيهِ وَقَتْلَهُ
 خَرَابَهُ اسْتَقَامَ فِي الْوَعِيدِ لَا يَتْبَعُ عَلَيْنَا حُلْدَ وَخَرَجَ لِلْحَايِ

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وَتَوَلَّى الْقَدَمَ وَخَرَجُوا عَلَيْهِمُ النَّوَارِجَ وَقَتَلُوا مِنْ رِجَالِهِ نَاسًا
 كَثِيرًا وَمِنْ هَرَبَ سَلَمَ وَخَانُوا النَّاسَ خَوْفَ شَدِيدٍ وَاجْتَمَعُوا
 إِلَيْهَا بِلَاسُ وَطَلَعَ رَعِيمُ الرُّمْلَةِ إِلَيْهَا بِلَاسُ وَتَوَلَّى خَارِجَ مِنْهَا وَتَوَلَّى
 لَهُ أَنْ كَتَبَ تَزِيدُ ابْنُ حَرْبٍ فَمَوَّاتُ نَزَلَ فِي عَقْرِيَّةٍ وَفَامَا لِي اللَّيْلِ
 مَعِي إِلَيْهِ وَأَوْفَقَ مَعَهُ الْحَرْبُ بِلَاسُ الْقَبْلَةِ قَتَلَ مِنْ أَجَابِ مَعَهُ
 جَمَاعَةٌ وَرَجَعُوا إِلَى الرُّمْلَةِ مَسْدُودِينَ أَقَامَ مَقْبَلَهُمْ حِلْيَ بِلَاسُ
 رَجُلٌ مِنْ أَهْلِهَا الْبَنِي مُوسَى بِهَرَبَ وَتَوَلَّى حِلْيَ بِلَاسُ وَنُصِي
 إِلَى الرُّمْلَةِ هَارِبًا بِتَجَرُّ الْخَارِجِي مَا جَمَعَ لَهُ جِيوشُ كَثِيرَةٌ خَوَاجَ
 وَجَاءُوا إِلَى تَرْتِةٍ تَوَرَّأَوْا وَنَهَبُوا وَنَزَلُوا إِلَى الْبَهْلِ جِبَا مِنْ كُلِّ ضَيْعَةٍ
 عَلَى قَدَرِهَا وَطَلَعَ إِلَيْهَا بِلَاسُ وَنَزَلَ عَلَيْهِمَا وَطَلَبَ مِنْهَا كَالِهَمِّ
 يَلْفَعُوا إِلَيْهِ شَيْءًا قَامَ الْحَرْبُ فِي يَوْمٍ الْفَرَسُ قَتَلَ مِنْ هَارِ لَا يَرَى مِنْ
 هَارِ لَا يَرَى بَاتَ فِي سَلَامٍ وَأَصْبَحَ يَوْمَ الْبُحْرَيْنِ جَيْشٌ عَظِيمٌ وَهَرَمَ
 النَّاسُ وَدَخَلَ إِلَيْهَا بِلَاسُ وَتَوَلَّى حَرْبَهُ وَإِلَى هُوَ أَحَدٌ وَإِذَا تَدَّ

سَمِعَ

وكان هو او معه احمد وجا الى الروم ودخل الى ابن القنم الذي
 هرب فلما جاء وركب على الدابة اخرجوه واخذ منهم خيل ولم
 يلحقه من يده وجاء الى الشام وتعب منها ما كان لها من ذرع
 وطلع الى عتيل لانه كان عتيل في القادحاني وادي
 غار فلما جاء لم يفعل الله تعالى الا ان زاد وعجز وادي عاراد
 في راسه واصبح جبال الشام وطلع في يوم الخميس الى عتيل فطن
 انهم يستامروا وخرجوا سائمين لم يستمعوا منه واشتد عليهم
 وعاد الى الشام واعتد وخرج ورا ابو حنيفة خرج اليه ابوا
 حنيفة وخرج معه من سرور في الرجل الذي عتيل السامرة
 وقتل في شغل منهم خيل عظيمه واشتد عليهم وساروا
 يقبلوا وادفعهم الى الجربة اعطاه الله سبحانه تعالى النصر
 وقتل منهم في عتيل حو لم يقتل كثير جدا واخذ ابو حنيفة
 وابن سرور وجا معه من مدية وشق في يده الحديد

ومضى الى نينوى وبلغها ومضى الى بيسان وجا من الناس
 بال كثير ومضى الى عتيل ونعمها وتبعي الى القبله ونعمت
 هناك ضياع كثيرة وكثرت الناس في الشدة وكاتبته
 كل الامر بطقتنا رايه كثير وعرف عظيم وقع في الناس وما
 اكثر من خرج من كاسروم يرجع واشتد على السامرة وبنهم اسم
 لا ياكلوا من الدسمان ولا يشربوا ولا يزوجوا منهم ولا يزوجهم
 فلما ابوا الحرب عاد الى الروم واثام منهم الجربة لم يقدروا على
 الخلاص منه ونزع الملك برهم وانشل كل شيء وجا معه
 جيش وهو في الطريق مات الملك فقام ابنه في اثره هرون
 هذا هرون وجا من الطريق وقصاه بما اراد وارسله
 وجا الى دمشق واجاب عباس عما امره وقتل جاش
 وجا قتل كثير وخرج كل ضياعه ورجا وركب في لبنان

اشتغلنا بانفسنا ولا يبق من الله همه ولا يحمله الاحاد من
 للجاعات كل المسلمين من ادم الى موت هرون حشد الاف
 ومائتي وثمانون سنة وقلبت اخوة جفروا بلا العالم بكل نوع
 وامر بذلك ان يلبسوا الناس الغبار ان الاسود والازرق
 فانه افرده لامتد امر بان لا يكون كاتبا ولا حامل الامن امته
 ولا يكون احد على حرس ولا يحمل كان الامن امته وكانوا
 يضاري طردهم وجعل كل احد من امته
 وامر بان لا يكون ثوب عليه طراز الاعلى اهل ساملته ولا
 يركب على فرس وامر بان يكون غلامه على كل ذي من خلف وقدام
 ولا يحمل من قدم على رتبة حال ولا يكون وكان جديد
 الا اهل ملته والبقية خشب امر بان يعد كل قبر يشبه قور
 اهل ملته وهدم تربة الزبيرين 244 و قبل هذا كان امر بان
 يمل كل ذي على ابيه وثن خشب يشبهه وثن وقاموا

وتمسكهم الى الملك لم يطعن احد بان يكون قاتل طعنا ابدا جاء
 ودخل من ارضهم فامر الزبيرين ويحسن الذي في ايامه واما
 الزبيرين 244 ذلك الاحكام عنهم لانهم سخطوا ومعنى هذا
 ان الرجل يتولا تطهير عجل وتحمل زكوا لانها كانت من الخيام
 الجلاء وظاهرها وسالها منها خيرة ومعنى جاء الى مصر ومعنى
 الى بلاد موحدة الى يوشا سلمين في شمرين ان يشرح
 وتبين انهم قد وشكروا الله على الشكر الكثير ومن بعد هذا
 تشبهوا الناس بيد السلاطين وحبوا الناس جنابه عظيم خرجت
 الناس نحو الى حيرة الاردين من الظلم وجعل الله تعالى في
 قلب الملك في شعر الدرس حمة وارسل وبطل ذلك كل هذا كان في
 ايام هرون هذا هرون منع النصارى من ضرب الناقوس وملك
 ست سنين واليهود منقرو المسلمين من سجدوا حتى من
 البعده ما كتبنا دهنهم في هذه المدة وكلا ملك الارض لا تبا

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يحيى اليه لما وصل خابجه اليه فوجد قمره ابراهيم اليه فصاروا
 خاير وساروا اليه فاستقبلهم رؤوسا اليه فاستقبلهم رؤوسا
 وراى رؤس شياير الناس في ذلك اليوم فاستقبلهم رؤوسا
 المساكين وراى اليه اصبح وقال له اجعل لي كل حربي في الارض
 وجاين ابو ابيد اخبره رؤوسا في كل حربي في الارض
 رؤس الغني وراى رؤس اهل الحرب بينهم وراى رؤس
 من حاربي رؤس اهل بيوتهم وراى رؤس اهل بيوتهم
 فذلك رؤس اليه فاستقبلهم رؤوسا وراى رؤس اهل بيوتهم
 وتبع عليه كل عام لا تقهرهم وراى رؤس علي الناس في كل شيء
 وصنع كبره خرب وراى رؤس اهل بيوتهم وراى رؤس اهل بيوتهم
 الهمه من رؤس اهل بيوتهم وراى رؤس اهل بيوتهم
 وجعل اصبح رؤس اليه فاستقبلهم رؤوسا وراى رؤس اهل بيوتهم
 الاموال وراى رؤس اهل بيوتهم وراى رؤس اهل بيوتهم

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الناس اليه فاستقبلهم رؤوسا وراى رؤس اهل بيوتهم
 اليه فاستقبلهم رؤوسا وراى رؤس اهل بيوتهم
 وكان في ذلك اليوم رؤس اهل بيوتهم وراى رؤس اهل بيوتهم
 وراى رؤس اهل بيوتهم وراى رؤس اهل بيوتهم
 فذلك رؤس اليه فاستقبلهم رؤوسا وراى رؤس اهل بيوتهم
 رؤس الغني وراى رؤس اهل الحرب بينهم وراى رؤس
 من حاربي رؤس اهل بيوتهم وراى رؤس اهل بيوتهم
 فذلك رؤس اليه فاستقبلهم رؤوسا وراى رؤس اهل بيوتهم
 وتبع عليه كل عام لا تقهرهم وراى رؤس علي الناس في كل شيء
 وصنع كبره خرب وراى رؤس اهل بيوتهم وراى رؤس اهل بيوتهم
 الهمه من رؤس اهل بيوتهم وراى رؤس اهل بيوتهم
 وجعل اصبح رؤس اليه فاستقبلهم رؤوسا وراى رؤس اهل بيوتهم
 الاموال وراى رؤس اهل بيوتهم وراى رؤس اهل بيوتهم

تتبعه

خلق
وششاما

هذا جعفر جالي الدنيا وشيئا ما تحسن ربي في ما تطلب في عاده
 الى بلد وعدا لشجرة الحواشي والقنادس والحيات والحيات
 واليه ودعنا صرنا احصا الجزية وبطل القاب وما دي
 كل انسان جاسه وذا وفي الجزية وفي ايامه جازجل يقال له توطين
 وذا الى ظاهر ما بلش وخرج مقدم ما بلش في لقاء وادفع منه الحرب
 وانكر مقدم ما بلش وحرب جروب السيف وتقل قتل فقتلوا واهرم
 كثير من السامره في يوم السبت في خولهم من السيف سامره
 لفرسيه ذكر والامر انضج من حرب والذي وصلوا السائل
 سلوا ورجاوا الى بيت حاصه ولم يرزوا الانسان لانهم جابغوا عيا
 نفوسهم بشي يقوموا به ودخلوا الى بيت حاصه في ليلة السبت
 واخذوا ابن امي انسان وادوا كل جاعته وجنوا اعلمهم القس
 واحرقهم وقلوا اسبغوا عشر رجل من ناس السور وانجزوا
 يوم السبت في شيئهم وهدوا الحصن الذي كان لهم احرقوا

هذا جعفر جالي الدنيا
 وشيئا ما تحسن ربي
 في ما تطلب في عاده
 الى بلد وعدا لشجرة
 الحواشي والقنادس
 والحيات والحيات
 واليه ودعنا صرنا
 احصا الجزية وبطل
 القاب وما دي
 كل انسان جاسه
 وذا وفي الجزية
 وفي ايامه جازجل
 يقال له توطين
 وذا الى ظاهر ما
 بلش وخرج مقدم
 ما بلش في لقاء
 وادفع منه الحرب
 وانكر مقدم ما
 بلش وحرب جروب
 السيف وتقل قتل
 فقتلوا واهرم
 كثير من السامره
 في يوم السبت
 في خولهم من
 السيف سامره
 لفرسيه ذكر
 والامر انضج
 من حرب والذي
 وصلوا السائل
 سلوا ورجاوا
 الى بيت حاصه
 ولم يرزوا
 الانسان لانهم
 جابغوا عيا
 نفوسهم بشي
 يقوموا به
 ودخلوا الى
 بيت حاصه
 في ليلة السبت
 واخذوا ابن
 امي انسان
 وادوا كل
 جاعته وجنوا
 اعلمهم القس
 واحرقهم
 وقلوا اسبغوا
 عشر رجل
 من ناس السور
 وانجزوا
 يوم السبت
 في شيئهم
 وهدوا الحصن
 الذي كان
 لهم احرقوا

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منهم ولا ياكل احد منهم ولا يشربوا منهم ولما كان في اربعه من
 تشرين يوم الخميس في الليل روي في السما كوكبا رمي من
 الشفق الى الغروب والي الجنوب امر عظيم وبلغ القس مدين
 بدينار وبعد اربعة ايام جاسم عظيم وابع القس ايامه من
 بعد هذا انتم الله تعالى ورحمته تصدق وفتح العالم وانقل
 الريش في جرح ومات قام عبدل ابنه موضع رجاء عظيم
 وابع القس اقام بدينار واحتاج كثير من الناس اخذوا
 العدة من الفل في الجوع وما اكثر من خرج من دينه من عظم
 الغلاو من الكريه للجزية وهلك بنون قبايل كثير من
 خرج من الذهب من صبر اشرف الله عليه بالرحمة وفتح الله
 له والسبح والخير في ملك جعفر كان امر عظيم ومن عجز عظيم
 وذلك ان خلفا الله تعالى بقرتين علي سكا فادبني سكانهم حواما

مؤمل

هوا

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وَعَادَ جَدُّ الْحِشَابِ الْعِزُّومَ تَقْدِمَ عَبْدِلَ شَيْخِ عَشْرَةِ سَنَةٍ
وَمَاتَ فِي بَيْتِهِ فِي حِصْنِ عَمْرٍاءَ وَبَعْدَ ذَلِكَ جَارَ جُلُ بَعْرُ مَجْمُورَهُ
وَضَمَّ عَلَى النَّاسِ رُجْعَ اللَّالِ وَجَانِي أَيْامِهِ غَلَا شَدِيدٌ
مَا لَا يَرِي شَلَهُ رَأْفَتُهُ وَالنَّاسُ وَالنَّاسُ انْشَقُّوا مِنْ أُمُومِ الْوَحْلِ
مِنْ مَنَازِلِهِمْ مِنَ الْعَدُوِّ وَالْجَنِّ وَقَامَ الْمُسْتَعِينُ اللَّهُ أَخُو
جَعْفَرٍ وَمَلَكَ شَتَيْنَ وَنُصِفَ أَعْرَ شَيْءٍ الْخَلْقِ مِنْ بَنِي
حَاشِمٍ وَقَامَ بَعْدَهُ الْعَتَزِيُّ جَعْفَرُ وَمَلَكَ ثَلَاثَةَ سَنِينَ فِي قَامَ بَعْدَهُ
الْمَعْدِيُّ بْنُ الرَّافِقِ وَمَلَكَ سَنَةً وَاحِدَةً وَقَامَ بَعْدَهُ الْقَعْدِيُّ وَمَلَكَ
أَرْبَعَةَ وَعَشْرَةَ سَنَةً وَكَانَ لَهُ أَخٌ وَاسَمُهُ ابْنُ أَحْمَدَ وَتَقَرَّرَ
عَلَيْهِ أَحَدُ بَنِي طُوبُونٍ فِي تِلْكَ الْحَيْرِ يَدُ شَدِيدٍ وَمَلَكَ بَعْدَهُ
وَكَانَ فِيهَا جُلُ بَعْرُ مَجْمُورَهُ مَقْدَمٌ فِي الرَّمْلَةِ مَقْدَمُ اسْمِهِ مَا
يَعْنِي بَنِي حِشَابِ بْنِ طُوبُونٍ فِي حِشَابِ بَكْرٍ وَجَاءَ
إِلَى فِلَسْطِينَ وَدَخَلَ إِلَى قَيْسَارِيَّةٍ وَخَلَا عِيْسَى رَجُلٌ يَنْبَغِي

رجل حشيب بن
عمر وفتح رجا

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بِالنَّارِ وَأَرْسَلَ إِلَى الرَّمْلَةِ رَجُلًا يَنْبَغِي رَجُلٌ جَبَّارٌ مَعْدٍ
حِشْبٌ عَظِيمٌ وَطَلَعَ إِلَى الْبَلَدِ وَمَضَى إِلَى يَتِيمًا مَا رَأَى يَتَاوُ إِلَى عَمْرٍاءَ
وَأَوْقَعَ الْحَرْبَ مَعَ قَوْمِ طِيٍّ قَتَلَ اشْرَكَ كَيْسَى مِنْ هَارُورِيٍّ فِي مَنَازِلِهِ
خَلَّتْ كَثِيرٌ وَدَخَلَ عَلَى النَّاسِ بِالْعَظِيمِ وَضَمَّ عَلَى شَدِيدٍ وَخُوفٍ
شَدِيدٌ وَهَرَبُوا النَّاسُ إِلَى الرَّمْلَةِ لَمَّا دَبَّ السَّيْفُ وَجَارَ خَلُّ تَقِيَالٍ
لَهُ فَرَأَسَ مِنْ الشَّرِّقِ وَمَضَى قَوْمِيٍّ طَلَعَ رُوحُهُ عَلَى مَقْدَمِ الْأُرْدَنِ
وَجَارَ أَيْامٌ وَتَقَرَّرَ رَجَالٌ كَثِيرٌ مِنَ الْأُرْدَنِ وَالْعَدَمِ إِلَى أَرْبَعَةِ
وَأَكْثَرِ الْوَحْلِ النَّاسُ مَحَاضِقَ عَلَيْهِمْ وَلِجَدِّهِ لِي مَجْمُورَهُ جَعْلَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى
سَلَامَةً فِي الْأَرْضِ فَعَادَ كُلُّ الْبَنَانِ إِلَى بَلَدِهِ وَقَتَلَ جَعْفَرُ عَلَى يَدَيْهِ
وَمَلَكَ بَعْدَهُ سِتُّ سَنِينَ وَرَجُلًا عَلَيْهِ كَثِيرٌ وَانْقَطَعَتِ الطَّرِيقُ مِنْ
يَسْلَكُ بَيْنَهُمَا وَكَثُرَ الْعَلَسُ وَالْخُوفُ وَهَلَكَتِ الْبَصِيرَةُ مَدِينَةً
الْكَبِيرَى وَقَتَلَ كَثِيرٌ مِنَ السَّامَةِ وَنُفِيتَ ضِيَاعٌ وَنَسَاوُاطُفَاكُ
وَفِي أَيْامِ عَبْدِلِ الْأَمَامِ رَأَى الْقَمَرُ فِي يَوْمِ السَّبْتِ رَأْسَ الشَّعْرِ
عَادَ

زمان وشتفت العيون زيت الشجر والقص في طرح الشجر
 النوار وجامع اعظم جدا ان ما كان فيه موت وتصدق
 الله تعالى وهذا القوم بعد ذلك فرج الله تعالى عن الخبيث
 وزل المطر واختر الارض غلاتها وشجرها وبلغ القمح شان
 اصاب بيا وخرج الله ربه ورافته وتوفي يوسف الرامي وقام
 يوسف الرامي اخوه في مكانه وقام به. اخو ابوه في منازعته
 وصاروا الناس فرقتين منهم مع يوسف منهم مع به. ودخل
 بين السامرة خلف كثير ورفع به. السلطان الارض مال
 وقامهم ودرس وفسر في عيد المظال بغيره راي السامرة وقف
 حول جامع من غلمان السلطان حول كتاب المذبح وتعلموا
 الكتاب والناس واستغاثوا الناس في وبقضوه ومضي الي مشر
 وكتاب ودا السامرة يؤخذ منهم وارسل السلطان قبض
 علي جماعة من السامرة وجعلهم في السجن حتي قاطعوا اعلي مال

وعادهم

زمان

زمان وشتفت العيون زيت الشجر والقص في طرح الشجر
 النوار وجامع اعظم جدا ان ما كان فيه موت وتصدق
 الله تعالى وهذا القوم بعد ذلك فرج الله تعالى عن الخبيث
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وَلَا أَحَدًا يَكُنِي مَعَ النَّاسِ فِي بِلَادِهِمْ الْمَوْتَ سِتَّةَ شُحُورٍ وَتَغَيَّرَتْ
صُورُ النَّاسِ مِنَ الْمَرَضِ وَانْطَلَعَ إِلَى الْجَبَلِ الْأَمْلِلِ مِنَ النَّاسِ
يُجِجُ لِلظَّالِمِ وَبَعْدَ ذَلِكَ فَتَحَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى عَلَى الْعَالَمِ وَذَكَرَ عَهْدَ إِبْرَاهِيمَ
وَإِسْحَاقَ وَيَعْقُوبَ وَفِي ذَلِكَ خَيْرٌ أَنْ كُنْتَ أَنْ طَوْلُونَ وَزَلَّ فِي دِمَشْقَ
وَمِنْ مَرْضَةِ الْمَوْتَ وَجَلَّ عَلَى الْجَبَلِ الْمَوْجُودَ كَانَ فِي الرَّمْلَةِ
وَالِي أَسْمُهُ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ الْفَتْحِ وَتَمَّعَ بِمَوْتِهِ وَاحْتَضَبَ عَلَى النَّاسِ
وَجَاءَ مِنْهُمْ مَالٌ كَثِيرٌ وَفِيهِ عَيْنٌ إِذَا شِئْتَ خَبَرَ عَلَيْهِ أَخَذَتْهُ
مَالٌ كَثِيرٌ وَعَوَّلَ عَلَى أَنَّهُ بَقَاةٌ فَلَا أَمْلَ أَنْ إِذَا شِئْتَ لَكَ حَرْبٌ إِلَى الْجَبَلِ
وَالْمَنَازِلِ وَبَقِيَ هُنَاكَ وَكَانَ مِنْ طَوْلُونَ خَلْفَهُ ثَلَاثَ بَنِينَ الْعَنَاءِ
وَجَارَهُ وَابْنُ الْعَنَاءِ وَقَبِيلُ الْعَنَاءِ بِأَخُوهُ جَارُهُ وَخَلْفَتُهُ جَارُهُ
أَبِينُ أَسْمُهُ الْوَاحِدُ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ وَالْآخِرُ شُعَيْبٌ فَلَمَّا سَمِعَ بَنُ الْفَتْحِ بِذَلِكَ
حَرْبٌ إِلَى الشَّرْقِ وَكَلَّوْا الْمُقَدِّسِينَ الَّذِي خَلْفَتُهُ جَارُهُ الْأَرْضِ
وَجَعَلُوا عَلَى الرَّمْلَةِ أَيْ يَقَالُ لَكَ أَصْبَحَ وَكَانَ أَشَانَا سَوَادُ كَانَ

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تَحَبَّرُوا عَلَى الدِّمِ وَنَجَّ كُلُّ مَا وَجَدُوا قَامَ الْوَعْدُ لِلْكَتُوبِ فِي الشَّيْءِ
الْمُقَدَّسِ الْجَارِ الَّذِي فِي جَبَلَتِهِ تَعَالَى عَلَيْهِ دَرْجَةُ قُوَّةٍ وَرَجَّةٌ مَا
وَأَنْتَ تَجِدُهُ سَفَلًا وَفِي أَيَّامِ مَمْلَكَتِهِ أَرْسَلَ أَخَذَ جَمِيعَ النَّاسِ
مِنْ الصَّيَامِ إِلَى مَعِيرٍ وَأَخَذَ مِنْ جَمَاعَةٍ مِنَ السَّامِرَةِ وَأَطْلَقَهُمْ إِلَى مَعِيرٍ
فِي الشَّيْءِ وَوَحْيَانٍ بِمَا تَجَمَّعَ عَلَيْهِ مَا فَأَخَذَ جَمِيعَ الْحَمَامِ وَمَعِيرٍ لِبَاسٍ
بِكُلِّ بَرٍّ فِي مَالِهِمْ وَأَحْبَسَهُمْ وَبَنَامَ مَعِيرٍ وَجَدَهُمَا لَأَهْلًا كَانَتْ خَرِيتُ
فِي التَّقَاتِ عِدَّةَ دَعَوَاتٍ فَكَانَ خَافَ لَيْلَ دُعَاؤِ فِي الشَّيْءِ كَانُوا النَّاسِ
كُلُّهُمْ وَثَقُلَ حَيَاةُ الْعَالَمِ وَانْفَقَرَتِ النَّاسُ كُلُّهُمْ وَانْشَقُّوا مِنْ
أَحْوَالِهِمْ وَأَمْوَالِهِمْ كُلُّ هَذَا فِي أَيَّامِ أَحْمَدَ بْنِ طَوْلُونَ فِي ذَلِكَ الْوَقْتِ
زَادَنِي الْبَصِيرَ عَلَى النَّاسِ كُلِّ مَنْ وَأَخَذَ جَمِيعَ الْبَعَائِمِ وَأَحْتَا جَدَّ
النَّاسِ سَيِّمُوا الْبَقَرِ فِي الطَّوْاحِينِ فِي أَيَّامِ ٩٥٥٢ هـ - ١٥٥٢ هـ
جَاءَ أَحْمَدُ بْنُ طَوْلُونَ الشَّابَّ السُّوْفِيَّ سَنَةً تَسَعَةً وَسِتُونَ وَمِائَتِي
سَنَةً لِلْمَلِكِ الْإِسْلَامِ وَحَلَّ بِالنَّاسِ بِالْأَشْرَفِ لَا يَجِدُ وَمَوْتَ زَائِدٌ

وَالْحَمْدُ

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الرملة في حيوت عظمه سودان في رايه من ساير الناس ونزل
علي راس العين الذي هو منزل القشاك وارسل الي ابي صبح وقال
لا اجمع لي كل سراي في الارض ورجا ابن ابي احمد اخوا
هرزن من بني هاشم ومن معه ونزلوا علي راس العين وادفعوا
هناك الحرب بينهم وقتل خلق كثير من عازي في من عازي
ومن عازي في حرب ابن احمد الهاشمي فذكر عيسى وراه ووصل
الي قيساريه وحل بالناس لا واقام الوعيد احمد وتبعت عليه ياكله
عالم لا تعرفهم وضيق علي الناس في كل شي في صياح كثيرة خربت
جهازان سعيد عامي وجا جهاز الي الرملة بحبس كثير ولما جاز
داخل الديسه احد جهاز سعيد قتل وجعل اصبح واتي فلسطين
والاردن وضيق علي الناس واخذ الاموال وكشف العالم من
امواله واخذ قراهم وكثير من السامره خلوا من فيا هم وكان
هناك خمس اخوه فاشوا

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من بيت نوويك وجاز فلسطين عن المقيمين الذي جاز عمره في
فلسطين ومضوا وخلوه متولي في فلسطين ومضوا الي مصر وادفعوا
الحرب علي صبح مع ابن ابي المشايح ومنع ابن ابي جويش وقتل
هناك قتل كثير وعادوا الي دمشق وما نقصروا وجاوا الي طبرية ولم
يقدروا يحلوا افلا علم عبد الله بن الناس قد عولوا اساقوا عليه
ومضي الي هناك وخلصه من جاز الي الرملة وسكنه وجعل لذلك
جاء كل من السلطان يحيى المال وقبض علي اصبح وحبسه
فلما سمع سعيد جالقه بغض شديد وقتل من مقدمه ميه وثلاثين
من خيار من كان معه وقتل ايضا من جاله خلق كثير وهرج
عبد الله ورجل الي اخوه هرزن
وقال له ان ابن طولون قد مات وما هناك احد يلقاك ورجا الي
فلسطين فكتب الي سعيد يحيى اليه ولما وصل جابه الي سعيد وقراه
ارسله الي مصر الي جهاز ويخبر جهاز وشار الي فلسطين ووصل الي

الرملة

ح

بسم الله العظيم الرحمن الرحيم في القوم

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بسم الله العظيم الرحمن الرحيم في القيوم
ما من ملك يار الله ما من ملك يار الله
ما من ملك يار الله ما من ملك يار الله

سنة مائتي وسبعة وتسعون سنة للملك الاسلام جابر اد
والملك النور والربع وامتلكت الدنيا منه ولا يبقى الا تلف فاما
الجناب غاداة اخرجت ثمر وابتغى الله بلخير والرحمة والشبع

فصل

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هذا الدعاء المبارك بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الذي
لعمري القاصي الله تعالى في جعله مبارك عليا ميسر يار الله العظيم

دعائي من خادمي الاخر
دعائي من خادمي الاخر
دعائي من خادمي الاخر
دعائي من خادمي الاخر

فصل فصل

سنة مائتي وسبعة وتسعون سنة للملك الاسلام جابر اد
والملك النور والربع وامتلكت الدنيا منه ولا يبقى الا تلف فاما
الجناب غاداة اخرجت ثمر وابتغى الله بلخير والرحمة والشبع
وبلغ الفم كل اشي عشر مئول يدنار وعلي الزيت وبلغ خسر اقنا ط

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كان متولي مصر رجل ينفذ في كماله ما كان غير عنده
 وظهر على العالم وفتح وجمع جميع حياض الاطباء واستقوه ادوية ما
 والظهور بالملوحات وكان كل ما استقوه والظهور زاد وقالوا
 له ان في السامرة اقوام سامرية فيهم كاهنة ينظرون هذا المرض
 ورتبة وزير اناشيل اجتمعوا احد من بني شيبه ومنه صمن من
 عروشون خدمه وكان اشير ابن شيبه 257 258 259 260 261 262 263 264 265 266 267 268 269 270 271 272 273 274 275 276 277 278 279 280 281 282 283 284 285 286 287 288 289 290 291 292 293 294 295 296 297 298 299 300 301 302 303 304 305 306 307 308 309 310 311 312 313 314 315 316 317 318 319 320 321 322 323 324 325 326 327 328 329 330 331 332 333 334 335 336 337 338 339 340 341 342 343 344 345 346 347 348 349 350 351 352 353 354 355 356 357 358 359 360 361 362 363 364 365 366 367 368 369 370 371 372 373 374 375 376 377 378 379 380 381 382 383 384 385 386 387 388 389 390 391 392 393 394 395 396 397 398 399 400 401 402 403 404 405 406 407 408 409 410 411 412 413 414 415 416 417 418 419 420 421 422 423 424 425 426 427 428 429 430 431 432 433 434 435 436 437 438 439 440 441 442 443 444 445 446 447 448 449 450 451 452 453 454 455 456 457 458 459 460 461 462 463 464 465 466 467 468 469 470 471 472 473 474 475 476 477 478 479 480 481 482 483 484 485 486 487 488 489 490 491 492 493 494 495 496 497 498 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كبر في الطرق فبعد ذلك فتح الله تعالى ابواب الجنان ورحمته
 نزل المطر وانبثت الارض في غلاتها وخرجت ثمارها ورجا الخس
 بكل نوع وشبوا الناس في شكر الله تعالى ولا يذكروا على انعم به الله
 فاذرهم حتى تروى ببارده في تلك السنة يخرج ريح عاصف في ليلة الصيام
 وانكسرت السفن التي كانت في البحر ولفها خلق كثير
 بلا علة وخرج المراكب في تلك السنة واشترى في الارض واكل القصب
 وجميع ما في البر ورجا غلاتهم وانكسر ابو عبد الله من الرملة وخرج
 وجابن طلع من مصر الى علي الرملة واسرا محابه لكل مكان الارض
 واقام مع شعور ونصير الى دمشق وعاد ابو عبد الله الى الرملة وبيع
 تسع خاوي يقال له للمسا في جمع جيش عظيم وشار الى بلخ
 عند السابن وقتلهم قتل عظيم ونهب السور والذهب والفضة
 وكل ما كان في البيت فبعد لم يسلم من الناس الا القليل وبي
 السنة الثانية سمع ان قد خرج فيها نعرما هدمها اما كبر وفي

من مخر

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من الهدى عالم ورجاني تلك السنة خيري كل شيء رخص ما راى
 مثله وفي ذلك الوقت قام بن طلع وجمع مساكين في دمشق وعصى
 علي السلطان القاهرة وقام بنده بن جعفر المقتدي مكانه
 يقال له عبد الله الراعي وكتب الي محمد بن علي بن طلعين بان
 يحارب بن طلع الي فلسطين في شراب في سنة خمس مئة من السطه
 ورجا حال محمد بن علي وشدة من ابن طلع وانكسر محمد بن علي
 وهرب واخذ جميع ما يملكه ومرو دخل الي مصر وملك بن طلع
 ارض فلسطين وكانت سنة مئة من علي كل السامرة واجتمعوا
 رجال عرب من حسانوط وقتلوا اخس رجال من السامرة ما
 واربعه من اشكر واخذ من النحاسه كانوا اشير ضياعهم
 وقتلوا في ساعده واحده وقبل انهم احرقهم وكانت لطفه ما
 عظيمه علي السامرة وبعد هذا جعل بن طلع يده علي السامرة ما
 واتبع اعيانهم واخذ منهم مال وامقر واكل مقدري السامرة

يقال له

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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 بِمَوْلَى اللَّهِ تَعَالَى لَطْفٍ وَجْهٍ تَوْفِيقٍ
 فِي نَحَارِ الْخَيْسِ الْمَبَارَكِ عَشْرِينَ شَهْرًا
 الْمَعْلُومَةِ قَدْرُهُ سِتَّةَ ثَلَاثِينَ تِسْعَ مِائَةٍ عَلَى كَاتِبِهِ
 لِنَفْسِهِ الْمَلُوكِ الْأَجْنِبِ الْأَذَلِّ الْأَجْفَرِ الْمَغْرِبِ بِالْزَيْتِ الْقَصِيرِ
 فِي يَوْمِ الْقِيَامِ الْمَلُوكِ سَلَامٌ مِنْ يَوْسُفَ بْنِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ بْنِ عَبْدِ قَبَاسِ السَّامِرِيِّ
 الْيُوسُفِيُّ السَّبَّاحُ الْيُوسُفِيُّ الْمَذْهَبُ غُفَرَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى لِيَوْمِ لَوْلَاهُ شَمْلُنْ
 وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي كَتَبَ بِالْمَقَرَّةِ وَالْمَقَرَّةِ وَلَطِيفٌ قَلْبُ بَشِيرٍ
 أَجْنِبِينَ وَشَلُومَ يَمِينٍ عَلَى شَيْءٍ وَمِنْ فِخْلِ الْقَارِي
 لَا يَقْبَلُ الْمَلُوكُ فِي الْخَطِّ لِأَنَّهُ مُتَعَلِّمٌ
 وَالْكَلَامُ حَقٌّ لِلتَّكْمِ وَالْجِدَّةُ
 رَبُّ الْعَالَمِينَ وَالْبَصِيغُ
 أَجْرُ الْحَمِيدِ

GEOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX

Names surveyed here are arranged alphabetically. Major cities and sites which are well known and widely discussed in the literature (e.g. Nablus, Jerusalem) are not surveyed in this appendix. References to bibliography and sources may be found in Tsafir, *Tabula Imperii Romani*; Wilkinson, *Gazeteer*; Avi-Yonah, *Holy Land*; S. Marmardji, *Textes géographiques arabes sur la Palestine* (Paris, 1951). Map references are given according to the standard topographical grid of the Survey of Israel. The reference is given in six digits (i.e. in proximity of one sq. km).

Afāzim, text p. 238. Unidentified location.

‘Aqdīd (?), text p. 232. Unidentified location.

‘Aqraba, text p. 234. Map ref. 182/170. An ancient town in eastern Samaria, densely populated by Samaritans. It was the capital of the Toparchy of *‘Aqraba* in the Byzantine period. See Ben Zvi, pp. 72–73; Tsafir, *Tabula*, pp. 56–57.

Arsūf, text p. 220. Map ref. 132/178. A city along the coast between Jaffa and Caesarea, called Apollonia in the Hellenistic and Roman periods; in the Byzantine period it was called Sozousa. The settlement, later called *Arsūf*, continued to exist during the early Muslim period and the Crusader period. See Tsafir, *Tabula*, “Apollonia, Sozousa,” p. 65; on the Samaritan settlement and finds see I. Roll and E. Ayalon, *Apollonia and Southern Sharon* (Tel Aviv, 1989), pp. 66–67, 274–78 (Hebrew); on *Arsūf* in the early Muslim period see *ibid.*, Appendices 6 and 7 by A. Elad: “*Arsuf* in the Early Arabic Period,” pp. 289–302; “Arabic Inscriptions from *Arsuf*,” pp. 303–308.

Ashkarū, text p. 261. Unidentified location.

‘Askar, text pp. 204, 223. Map ref. 177/180. An ancient Samaritan village, nowadays an Arab village east of Nablus; identified with Socher or Sychar, where according to Christian tradition Jesus met the Samaritan woman (John 4:5). The well itself, however, was shown not in *‘Askar* but in Balāṭa, one km. away (map ref. 177/179). See Ben Zvi, p.

66; Avi-Yonah (Hebrew), p. 123; Tsafrir, *Tabula*, p. 238; Wilkinson, *Gazeteer*, p. 172.

ʿAtīl, text pp. 236, 237, 238. Map ref. 157/197. A village in western Samaria, northeast of Tūl Karem. There is no additional information concerning this site, although the text (p. 238) implies that it was an important Samaritan settlement.

ʿAwartā, text p. 247. Map ref. 177/174. An ancient Samaritan village south of Nablus, recorded from the days of Baba Raba (third or fourth century) until the seventeenth century. According to Samaritan, Jewish and Muslim tradition, this was the the location of the tomb of Elʿazar, son of Aharon the High Priest, his son Pinḥas, and the Seventy Elders (Numbers 11:16). Now a Muslim village. See Ben Zvi, p. 60; Marmardji, pp. 151, 165.

Baṣālīya, text p. 233. This site should probably be identified with Khirbat Baṣālīya, map. ref. 194/177, about 15 km. east of Nablus and 14 km. northeast of ʿAqraba. According to the text, apparently a Muslim settlement.

Bayt Fūrīk, text p. 254. Map ref. 181/176. An ancient Samaritan village southeast of Nablus. See Ben Zvi, p. 73. Also mentioned in the *Tolidah*, Neubauer, p. 22.

Bayt Jibrīn, text pp. 227, 230. Beth Govrin/Eleuthero polis; map ref. 140/112. An important town during the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods in the Judaeian inner plain. There is additional evidence of its continued existence during the early Muslim and Crusader periods. See Tsafrir, *Tabula*, p. 118; Marmardji, pp. 22–23; *The New Encyclopedia of Archeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, I (Jerusalem, 1993), pp. 195–201; It was apparently a central chalk quarry in the early Muslim period, a fact attested to both by the excavations (*ibid.*, p. 201), and by al-Muqaddasī, p. 174, who also notes that it was the capital of the province. He refers to its granary and storehouse and describes it as a land of harvest and abundance, yet laments its decline since it now harbours “effeminate men”.

Bayt Ṣāmā, text pp. 205, 220, 245, 246. According to al-Balādhūrī, *Futūḥ*, p. 158, Bayt Ṣāmā was a Samaritan village in the province of Nablus.

It should be noted that although the Mss. read Bayt Ṣāmā, the editor chose to correct the text to Bayt Māmā, since this is Yāqūt’s version (I, 781); yet Yāqūt is, in fact, quoting al-Balādhūrī, and as the latter’s reading is confirmed by our text, the copying error must be Yāqūt’s.

Būrīn, text p. 246. Map ref. 173/176. Village 5 km. southwest of Nablus.

Dājūn, text pp. 240, 248. Map ref. 134/156. A town near Ramla, today Beit Dagon. Dājūn was a settlement that according to al-Muqaddasī, pp. 165–66, was inhabited in the tenth century mostly by Samaritans. See also Yāqūt, II, 515. There is also an ancient Samaritan village by this name in Samaria, ca. 10 km. east of Nablus, map ref. 185/177.

al-Jīb, text p. 230. An Arab village 10 km. north of Jerusalem (map ref. 167/139, the site of Biblical Gibeon); see Tsafrir, *Tabula*, pp. 126–27; Yāqūt, II, 170.

Jimsāfūt, text p. 261. Jinṣāfūt, map ref. 162/176. A large village in central Samaria, between Qalqīliya and Nablus. The name is already recorded in documents from the time of Ramses II. See F.M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, II (Paris, 1938), p. 26. There is no mention of it being a Samaritan settlement, and the text here seems to be an early record of it being a Muslim settlement.

Kafar Tiya (?), text p. 245. Unidentified location.

Nihāsa (?), text p. 261. Unidentified location.

Qaryat Qūzā text p. 234. Map ref. 173/171. Also called Ṣaqta, an ancient Samaritan settlement ca. 10 km. south of Nablus. See Ben Zvi, p. 74. Nowadays a small Arab village.

Rāmīn, text p. 237. Map ref. 164/187. An Arab village in central Samaria, 12 km. northwest of Nablus, on the main road to Tūl Karem.

Rās al-ʿAyn, text p. 255. See *al-Ṭawāḥīn*.

Sālīm, text pp. 220, 222, 234. Map ref. 181/179, Shalem Rabtha. An ancient Samaritan village in eastern Samaria, ca. 8 km. east of Nablus. See Ben Zvi, p. 62; Avi-Yonah, *Holy Land*, p. 154; Tsafrir, *Tabula*, “Salem II,” p. 219.

al-Sārīn, text p. 231. This place is also mentioned in Neubauer, *Tolidah*, pp. 29, 30 (trans. pp. 69, 70), where it is called Qiriath-Hasarin. Ben Zvi (p. 70–72), followed by Avi-Yonah (Hebrew, p. 123), suggested that it should be identified with the village of Sīrīn (next to ‘Ayn Sīrīn) near Balāṭa, southeast of Nablus, map ref. 177/178. Ben Zvi emphasizes that there is an ancient burial ground for priests on the site. In addition, it seems to have served as a religious centre where important assemblies were convened and ceremonies initiated. Nearby, in Decatus, the Samaritans had a cult centre where the Passover sacrifice was made.

al-Shi‘r, text p. 233. In Jordan. Probably the biblical “Mount Se‘ir” or “land of Se‘ir” in Edom, i.e. southern Transjordan, known in the Muslim sources as al-Sharāt. See relevant note in the text.

Sinjil, text pp. 222, 237. See note to text, p. 222.

al-Ṭawāḥīn, text p. 233. Map ref. 143/168. Also called in the text Rās al-‘Ayn (p. 255), near the sources of the Yarqon river. The Hellenistic and Roman Antipatris, this was the site of the famous battle between the armies of Khumārawayh and al-Muwaffaq (see text and notes, pp. 254, 255). See Tsafirir, *Tabula*, “Antipatris,” p. 63; Yāqūt, III, 554.

‘Uskūn, text p. 259. Unidentified location. May be identified perhaps with biblical Socho, now Shweika, map ref. 153/193 in western Samaria, north of Ṭūl Karem.

Wādī ‘Ārā, text p. 237. Separates Mount Carmel and the mountains of Samaria, and is part of the *Via Maris*.

Zaytā, text pp. 220, 246, 248. Map ref. 155/199. An ancient Samaritan village in western Samaria, 8 km. north of Ṭūl Karem, inhabited by Samaritans from the fourth to the ninth centuries. See Ben Zvi, p. 88.

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